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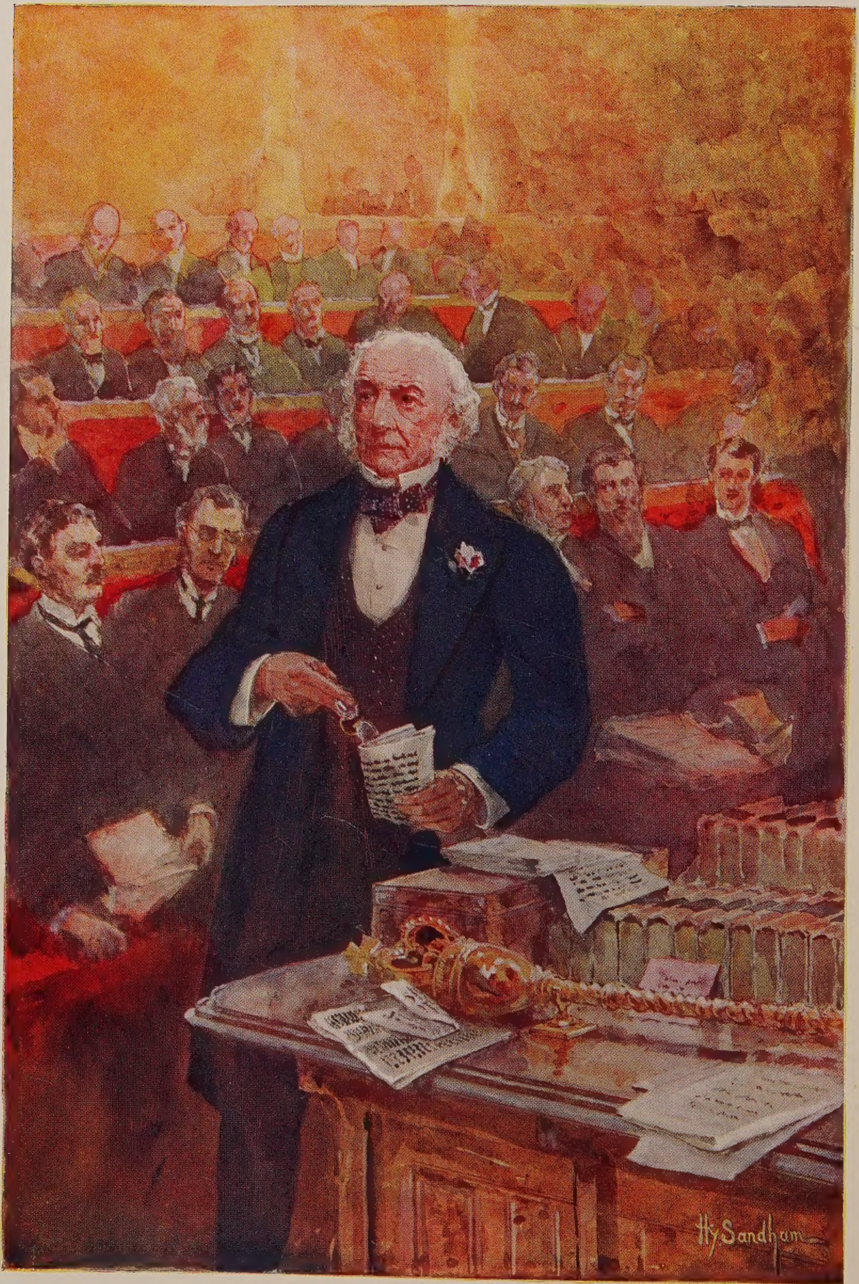

GLADSTONE INTRODUCING THE HOME RULE BILL OF 1886

HISTORY OF IRELAND

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES
TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

THE REV. E. A. D'ALTON

LL.D. M.R.I.A.

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CHAPTER XII

The Land League

THE years which followed the Land Act of 1870 were prosperous years in Ireland. The seasons were good, the crops abundant, the price of farm stock abnormally high. The Land Act in no way curtailed the landlord's right to raise rents, and he took full advantage of his powers. Yet the tenants willingly paid the increased rents. Whenever land was to be let there were many competitors for its possession, and when a tenant was evicted the landlord had no difficulty in finding a new tenant for the vacant holding. There was then no powerful organization to protect the evicted, and no one to raise the cry of grabber, and in their greed for land the farmers forgot the interests of their own class to satisfy the rapacity of the landlords.[1] In 1877 there came a change. In that year the potato crop was barely half that of the preceding year; in 1878 the crop was equally a failure; and in 1879 there was but a third of the average yield. Bankrupt and starving men could not pay rent, but the landlords, caring nothing for the people, insisted to the full on their legal rights; and as rents were not and could not be paid they commenced to evict. In 1877 the number of such evictions was 1323; in 1878, 1749; and in 1879 the number had risen to 2667. With famine and eviction the outlook was certainly dark, and it seemed as if the horrors of 1847 were to be renewed.[2]

Nor would the Government do anything to stay evictions or relieve distress. With distress in Great Britain and trouble abroad Ireland was forgotten, and when Parliament met in February 1879 its chief concern was about the affairs of

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[1] *New Ireland*, pp. 429-30.

[2] *Parnell Movement*, pp. 165-7.

Afghanistan and Zululand. Nothing was promised to Ireland except an amendment of its Grand Jury laws.[1] At a later period of the session Lord Clare's Convention Act of 1793 was repealed;[2] and for the first time for nearly a hundred years Irishmen selected and delegated by their countrymen were free to meet and discuss public questions. There was also a University Bill passed, which abolished the Queen's University and set up the Royal University in its place. The Queen's colleges, however, were left undisturbed, still shunned by Catholics as godless colleges, and as such barred by Catholic bishops. Nor was any concession made except to allow Catholics in common with others to be examined for degrees, for the Royal University did not require residence, and was nothing more than an examining board.[3]

Nothing further would be done for Ireland. As if in contempt of the country, Lord Beaconsfield had appointed Mr. James Lowther Irish Chief Secretary. He was but an ignorant, horse-racing country squire, more at home in the racing paddock than in Parliament, less familiar with the language of statesmen, or even of intelligent politicians, than with the language of the stable and the horse jockey. In the end of May, Mr. O'Donnell, M.P. for Galway, called attention to the state of Ireland, and Mr. Parnell and others supported and emphasized the statements of Mr. O'Donnell. But Mr. Lowther, who knew nothing and cared nothing about Ireland, undertook to say that these statements were exaggerated, and that the depression in Ireland was "neither so prevalent nor so acute as the depression existing in other parts of the United Kingdom."[4] A month later Mr. O'Connor Power, M.P. for Mayo, one of the ablest of the Irish members, and one of the greatest orators in Parliament, moved the adjournment of the House to call attention to the subject of Irish distress. But neither the strong case he made nor the eloquence with which he spoke made any impression on the Government benches. The members talked and laughed while he spoke, so that he was heard with difficulty.[1] They were willing to help the Government to pass new rules for putting down obstruction, which meant putting down Parnell,[2] but they were not willing to listen to the cry of Irish distress, and closed their eyes as well as their ears even while famine was advancing with rapid strides.

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 1-2, 33.

[2] *Ibid.* 73.

[3] *Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland*, ii.

[4] *New Ireland*, pp. 436-8.

There was then a more militant spirit in Ireland than that which existed in 1847. The Irishmen of 1879 were not willing to starve or be evicted, and if the Government would not help them they were determined to help themselves. The most prominent exponent of the new gospel of defiance and self-help was Michael Davitt. The son of a Mayo peasant, he was born in 1846 at the little village of Straide. His parents, who had passed safely through the famine, were evicted in 1853, and the whole family, father, mother, son and two daughters, crossed to England and settled at Haslingden in Lancashire. To supplement the scanty earnings of his father, the little boy was sent at an early age to work in a mill, and one day his arm got caught by the mill machinery and was so seriously injured that it had to be amputated. He had already acquired some education and was clever and quick to learn, and perhaps the terrible misfortune which involved the loss of his right arm caused him to turn to books with fresh eagerness. At all events, he read and acquired knowledge, and was soon able to contribute to O'Leary's Fenian organ, *The Irish People*. He joined the Fenian organization and passed unharmed through the exciting times of 1867; but in 1870 he was arrested in London as a Fenian arms-agent and on the evidence of an informer was convicted. Sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude, he was in 1878 liberated on ticket-of-leave. He was then a fairly well-educated man, for in prison he had availed himself of every opportunity given him to read. In the midst of unwholesome surroundings and degraded companions he had remained a good man, with high ideals and loftiness of aim. In the stone-breaking yard or in the prison-cell at Dartmoor, he often thought of Ireland and its wrongs; and when he was once more free his first anxiety was to strike at Irish landlordism and British misgovernment.[1]

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[1] O'Brien's *Life of Parnell*, i. 185.

[2] *Annual Register*, p. 34.

The time was not unfavourable for a new forward movement. Famine was coming, the landlords were evicting, the Government callous. Already the ablest of the American Fenians, John Devoy, an ex-prisoner like Davitt himself, was anxious for an alliance between the Fenians and the Parliamentarians. As long as the latter were under the leadership of Butt there was no hope for Ireland in Parliament, and the Fenians turned from constitutional agitation with contempt. But with Parnell it was different. His militant attitude, his evident capacity to lead, his hatred of England, captivated thousands of Fenians both at home and abroad, and won them over to parliamentary methods. On the other hand, Devoy hoped for little from Fenianism until the farmers joined, and he wanted an alliance between revolutionists and Parliamentarians, on the basis of the destruction of landlordism, leading up to Irish independence. This came to be called the New Departure. It highly commended itself to Davitt, and when he landed in America in August 1878, he and Devoy won over to their views large numbers of the Clan-na-Gael. They could not, however, succeed with the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. Influenced by Kickham, it would have nothing to do with constitutional movements. Kickham was a man of much literary capacity, pure-minded and unselfish, but with little ability for practical politics. He ought to have seen that the American Fenians were powerless owing to the enforcement of neutrality laws by the United States; that the home Fenians could only break out into futile rebellion; and that to expect them with revolvers and guns to overcome the might of England was as reasonable as to expect that a modern fortress could be captured with bows and arrows. Yet he clung to the old worn-out methods, which were powerless either to do good to Ireland or harm to England. At the meeting of the Supreme Council in Paris at which both Devoy and Davitt attended—both being members—he had his way, and no alliance was to be entered into with the Parliamentarians, though individual members might join the open movement if they pleased.[1]

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[1] *New Ireland*, pp. 431-2; Davitt's *Leaves from a Prison Diary.*

Nor did Parnell seem to regard the new departure with special favour. In October 1878 the Clan-na-Gael leaders were willing to join him if he dropped the demand for Federal Home Rule in favour of a general declaration demanding self-government; if he vigorously agitated the Land question on the basis of a peasant proprietary, excluded sectarian issues from his platforms, and helped all struggling nationalities within the British Empire.[2] He was in favour of most of the items in this programme, and he liked the Fenians and wanted their assistance. He would not, however, have any formal alliance with them, and at no time was he willing to become a Fenian. But though Kickham on the one hand and Parnell on the other held aloof, the new departure was becoming a reality. Devoy in America was an active propagandist; Davitt was equally so at home, and events were so shaping themselves that Irish farmers were compelled to agitate, and a beginning was made for the final destruction of Irish landlordism.

The first public meeting was held on the 19th of April 1879, at Irishtown in Mayo. The parish priest of the place, Canon Burke, was also a small landlord. His father, within living memory, had doubled the rents of the several holdings, with the result that when bad times came arrears accumulated. Canon Burke was a kindly and a not ungenerous man, but he had the landlord's notions about landlord rights, and he refused either to forgive the arrears or reduce the rents, and threatened the tenants with eviction. Respect for his office made it difficult to rouse public opinion against him, and as local men were unwilling to take action, Davitt was appealed to, and he, after consulting with some friends in Claremorris, resolved to hold a public meeting. The necessary organization was in the hands of Mr. John O'Kane, Mr. P. W. Nally, Mr. John Walsh, Mr. J. P. Quinn, and others, and both local leaders and speakers were in nearly every case Fenians; so also were many of those who formed the audience of 7000. Sons of farmers, some employed in shops, some on their father's farms, they hated landlordism and longed for its destruction. Being Fenians, they were opponents of the clergy and had no dread of Canon Burke. Their example inspired the farmers, who were not Fenians, with courage; and if the former supplied the greater part of the audience who attended these meetings, it was the Fenians who supplied the organizing capacity and discipline, the enthusiasm and courage so necessary to carry a popular movement to success. Davitt himself; Mr. Thomas Brennan, a commercial clerk in Dublin with considerable ability as a speaker; Mr. O'Connor Power, M.P., more eloquent still; Mr. John Ferguson of Glasgow, and Mr. James Daly of Castlebar were the principal speakers. They demanded the abolition of landlordism and the establishment of a peasant proprietary, denounced rack-renting and eviction with special vehemence, and were answered back by the thousands round the platform with the cry of "Down with landlordism—the land for the people!" One result of the meeting was that Canon Burke ceased his threats of eviction and gave an abatement of 25 per cent in the rents. And this led to other meetings where similar eloquence and enthusiasm were displayed.[1]

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[1] O'Brien's *Parnell*, i. 163-7, 176-7.

[2] *Ibid.* 168-9.

Mr. Parnell noted these events but refused to attend any meetings. For one thing, the priests were hostile, and he wanted no quarrel with the priests. But when Mr. Lowther in the House of Commons denied even the existence of Irish distress, Parnell delayed no longer and crossed over to Ireland to attend the Westport meeting on the 8th of June. And now the popular movement was attacked from an unexpected quarter, the assailant being none other than John MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam. He was then nearly ninety years of age, feeble in body and in mind, entirely controlled by his nephew, the Very Rev. Dr. MacHale, a man with no popular sympathies. To the latter, and not to the great popular champion, was attributed the letter signed "John, Archbishop of Tuam." It attacked the new movement as that of a few designing men who sought only to promote their personal interests, a movement tending to impiety and disorder in Church and in society. They were ungenerous words from the man whom O'Connell had styled the Lion of the Fold of Judah, who next to O'Connell was the greatest popular champion of his time. But the letter did not deter Parnell nor spoil the meeting. Even a larger number assembled than at Irishtown, and 8000 men cheered long and loud when Parnell advised them not to submit to eviction, but to "keep a firm grip of their homesteads."[1]

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[1] Davitt's *Fall of Feudalism*, pp. 147-51.

In the next month Parnell found himself again in opposition to the clergy. A vacancy occurred in the representation of Ennis, and Mr. William O'Brien, a Catholic Whig, a place-hunter, and afterwards a judge, had the support of the Bishop and priests. Parnell put forward a Mr. J. L. Finnigan, an advanced Home Ruler, and the latter was placed at the head of the poll. But Parnell disliked opposing the clergy, and when the Royal University was passing through the House of Commons he favoured the Catholic bishops' demand for a Catholic University, and expressed his entire disapproval of the Bill as failing to satisfy their demand.[2]

Davitt was meanwhile holding meetings, and the cry of "Down with landlordism" was raised from many a platform. And when Parliament rose Parnell at once returned to Ireland, and during the months of August, September and October attended meetings Sunday after Sunday, and was listened to by thousands, anxious to hear what he had to say. His oft-repeated advice to the farmers was to combine, to ask for a reduction of rent when necessary, and when the reduction was refused to pay no rent. As for exterminating the people, he assured them no Government would attempt it; let them band themselves together and they were invincible.[1]

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[1] Davitt's *Fall of Feudalism*, pp. 153-5.

[2] O'Brien's *Life of Parnell*, i. 191-2.

Davitt in August had held a County Convention in Castlebar, and founded the National Land League of Mayo to protect tenants and fight landlordism; and he had been urging Parnell to turn this into a national organization, with a central body in Dublin and branches throughout the land. But Parnell hesitated, believing that the central body would be held responsible for the conduct of the branches, and that it would be impossible to effectually restrain the reckless spirits of which some of these branches might be composed.[2] Finally, however, he gave way, and on the 21st of October the National League of Mayo was turned into the Irish National Land League. Mr. Parnell had invited the attendance of representative public men, who met at the Imperial Hotel, Dublin, and there a central body was formed charged with the conduct of the agitation. The declared objects of the Land League were to reduce rack-rents and promote peasant proprietary; its methods were to be organization of the farmers, and protection of those threatened with eviction or actually evicted for unjust rents. Mr. Parnell was elected President of the League; Messrs. A. J. Kettle, Davitt and Brennan, Secretaries; and Messrs. Biggar and Sullivan, M.P.'s, and Egan, Treasurers. It was resolved that an appeal should be made to the Irish race for funds to sustain the new movement, and that Mr. Parnell should proceed to America and make the appeal in person. By that time the suspicion with which the clergy at first regarded the agitation had partially disappeared, and of the fifty-three members of the Central Committee of the League no less than thirteen were priests.[3]

In November Messrs. Davitt, Daly and Killeen, B.L., were prosecuted for speeches delivered at Gurteen in Sligo County, and Mr. Brennan for a strong speech made near Balla. But the Government despaired of a conviction and the prosecutions were dropped, with consequent loss of prestige to the Government itself, and a consequent increase of influence and strength to the League. Mr. Parnell delayed his departure for America lest it might be said that he was afraid of being prosecuted. He even attended the meeting in Balla and congratulated Mr. Brennan on his speech,[1] and he attended the trial in Sligo, and it was not till the end of December that he left Ireland.

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 94-95.

[2] O'Brien's *Life of Parnell*, i. 191.

[3] Davitt's *Fall of Feudalism*, pp. 170-73.

Accompanied by Mr. John Dillon, he landed at New York in the first week in January. By that time the reality of the distress, especially in Connaught, could not be ignored even by the Government, and the Lord-Lieutenant's wife, the Duchess of Marlborough, formed a committee to collect food and clothing for the starving people. The Lord Mayor of Dublin, Mr. Gray, M.P., formed the Mansion House Committee for the same purpose; and in America the *New York Herald* also formed a committee, and invited Mr. Parnell's co-operation. But he refused. He was determined that no funds subscribed should go, as in 1847, into the pockets of the landlords. He appealed for help not to subsidize but to destroy landlordism, the fruitful parent of so many famines; he appealed to the Irish in America to unite among themselves and with their brethren at home for the old land, and he appealed for American sympathy against English misgovernment.[2]

He was received with enthusiasm. Governors of States, mayors of cities, bishops, judges, senators, members of Congress, eminent professional men, distinguished military officers, merchants and newspaper editors, crowded to his platforms. At New York he addressed 8000 persons, with a judge in the chair. At Newark a detachment of the Ninth Regiment escorted him through the streets. At Philadelphia Mr. Childs, the editor of the *Public Ledger*, handed him a subscription of one thousand dollars. At Boston the Mayor was in the chair, and the great orator, Wendell Phillips, was one of the speakers. At Indianapolis the Governor of the State met him at the railway station. At Toledo he was received with a military salute of twenty-one guns. At Buffalo and Chicago he received

[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 100-101.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1880, pp. 3-4.

the freedom of the city. At Washington he was invited to address the House of Representatives, an honour never before tendered to a stranger except to General Lafayette and Kossuth. The House suspended its regular session to hear him vigorously denounce Irish landlordism. At Toronto and Montreal in Canada his welcome was enthusiastic, and at the latter place he was styled "the uncrowned king." In two months he visited sixty-two cities, and travelled nearly 11,000 miles, and received in all, partly for political purposes but principally for the relief of distress, a sum of £50,000. He also founded the American Land League, with its central body and its branches like the home organization, with John Devoy as one of its treasurers, and in its councils cordially acting together both constitutionalist and Clan-na-Gael.[1] Leaving Dillon to carry on the work of the League, Parnell then crossed to Ireland. A dissolution of Parliament had been sprung upon the country, and it was this which suddenly ended his triumphal progress through America and caused his sudden return home. He arrived at Queenstown on the 21st of March, nearly a fortnight after Lord Beaconsfield had announced the dissolution in a letter addressed to the Duke of Marlborough.

At the opening of Parliament in February, Mr. Shaw, who succeeded Butt as Home Rule leader, proposed an amendment to the Address, calling for comprehensive measures of relief, and also for legislation on the tenure of land, the neglect of the latter being the true cause of the constantly recurring disaffection and distress in Ireland. The Government, however, opposed and defeated the amendment, though it was proved by the official returns of the Registrar-General that the state of Ireland was serious. These figures, in fact, "staggered many who had previously been disposed to believe that the Irish distress had no serious foundation except in the imaginations of Home Rulers and anti-rent agitators."[2] All the Government did was to pass a Relief of Distress Act, under which a sum of £1,000,000 was voted from the Church

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[1] Davitt's *Fall of Feudalism*, pp. 193-211; O'Brien's *Life of Parnell*, i. 204-7.

[2] *Annual Register*, p. 10.

Surplus Fund to Irish landlords and sanitary authorities to spend on drainage and reclamation of lands. Paid out for labour to the tenants, it came back to the landlord as rent, while the tenant starved.[1] In the next month, with a callousness rarely equalled, Lord Beaconsfield appealed to the country on an anti-Irish cry. The Irish demand for Home Rule he characterised as a danger scarcely less disastrous than pestilence and famine, and those Liberals who favoured such a policy were labouring for the disintegration of the United Kingdom, having already "attempted and failed to enfeeble our Colonies by their policy of decomposition."[2]

Lord Beaconsfield's opponents, however, did not allow the electoral battle to be confined to the subject of Ireland, and the whole Tory policy was vigorously impeached. As far back as 1876 Mr. Gladstone had come forth from the retirement of his library to denounce before the world the horrors perpetrated in Bulgaria under Turkish rule, where rape and robbery were the common acts of civil and military officials, and Government was an organized massacre. Though the public mind of England was profoundly stirred, Lord Beaconsfield continued to support Turkey, and on her behalf had well-nigh plunged the country into war.[3] But the seed sown by Mr. Gladstone ripened in good time, and when the dissolution came, besides their support of the Turks, the Tories had provided abundant material for attack. "At home," said Mr. Gladstone, "they have neglected legislation, aggravated the public distress, augmented the public expenditure, and plunged the finances into a series of deficits unexampled in modern times." And abroad they had aggrandised Russia, lured Turkey to her ruin, replaced the Christian population of Macedonia under a debasing yoke, "and from day to day, under a Ministry called, as if in mockery, Conservative, the nation is perplexed with fear of change."[4] The answer of the nation to this formidable indictment was to bring in a verdict of guilty, and when the General Election was over only 240 Tories had been returned to Parliament. Of the remainder 347 were Liberals and 65 Irish Home Rulers.[1]

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 9-12; O'Brien's *Parnell*, i. 208-9.

[2] *Annual Register*, pp. 32-33.

[3] Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 156-77.

[4] *Annual Register*, pp. 34-35.

In Mr. Parnell's absence the Irish members had advised the Irish in England to vote for the Liberals, and it was calculated that they turned the scale in forty constituencies. Mr. Parnell would have preferred to support the Tories, believing that Lord Beaconsfield would have plunged the Empire into some grievous difficulty from which benefit would accrue to Ireland. In Ireland his anxiety was to strike at the Whigs and Whig Home Rulers. Travelling by special train, he visited many constituencies and was thus able to do the work of many. And his success was considerable. In Mayo he turned out the moderate Home Ruler, Mr. Browne; in Roscommon, the Whig O'Connor Don; in Cork City, the two sitting members; in Cork County he all but succeeded in ousting Mr. Shaw. He was himself elected for Meath, Mayo and Cork City; Mr. Dillon was elected for Tipperary; Mr. Sexton for Sligo; Mr. T. P. O'Connor for Galway City; Mr. O'Kelly for Roscommon; Mr. T. D. Sullivan for Westmeath; Mr. John Barry for Wexford. Messrs. Biggar and Justin MacCarthy were re-elected, and so was Mr. Gray, the Lord Mayor of Dublin.[2] Many of those elected were young and new to Parliament, and not a few were destined to acquire fame. Mr. T. D. Sullivan was the author of well-known songs and ballads, and though not so eloquent as his brother Alexander, was a useful member and an honest man. Mr. Justin MacCarthy was a cultured Cork man, whose *History of Our Own Times* was even then known and admired throughout the English-speaking world. Mr. Gray, the owner of the *Freeman's Journal*, was son of Sir John Gray, and had even more than his father's ability. In honesty and courage Mr. John Dillon resembled his father, the Young Irelander and rebel of 1848. Mr. T. P. O'Connor was a brilliant journalist, eloquent both with voice and pen. Mr. Sexton, hitherto unknown, gave evidence during his election contest of great oratorical powers. Mr. O'Kelly's life was full of adventure and romance. A Fenian and a soldier of the Foreign Legion of France, he had fought in Mexico and in Cuba, and had been an inmate of a Mexican as well as of a Spanish prison. Except Mr. Gray, all these favoured Mr. Parnell's advanced policy, and when the Home Rule party met to elect its Chairman, Mr. Parnell was elected by 23 votes, only 18 votes being cast for his opponent Mr. Shaw.[1]

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[1] Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 216-20.

[2] *New Ireland*, pp. 447-9.

Had the whole 65 members returned as Home Rulers acted loyally together much might have been done under such a vigorous leader as Mr. Parnell. But it was calculated that four of the 65 could scarcely be called Home Rulers at all;[2] many more were not sincere and refused even to attend the meeting at which Mr. Shaw was deposed; and Mr. Shaw's supporters, refusing to abide by the decision arrived at, remained in the House of Commons on the Government side, while the Parnellites crossed over to the Opposition side in pursuance of their avowed policy of Independent Opposition.

It was no doubt well that the Tories had been driven from office, that Mr. Gladstone, the friend of Ireland, was Premier, that three of his colleagues were such friends of liberty and justice as Mr. Bright, Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Forster; and it was an augury of better things that the expiring Coercion Act was not to be renewed. Yet it was plain that the Government were not about to embark on any Irish land legislation; nor did the Queen's Speech, though dealing with Turkey and India and South Africa, promise anything to Ireland but an extension of the borough franchise and a possible measure for the relief of distress.[3] And meantime 500,000 persons were on the books of the Irish Relief Committees; rents were not and could not be paid, with a consequent large increase of evictions; and at Land League meetings held all over the land landlordism was vigorously denounced, and language of menace used towards the evictors and towards any Government which would be wicked enough to sustain them.[1]

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[1] *Parnell Movement*, pp. 175-96.

[2] Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 220.

[3] *Annual Register*, pp. 65-66.

This was the condition of things in June, when Mr. O'Connor Power brought in a Bill to stay evictions by compelling the landlord in every case to compensate for disturbance. The Chief Secretary, Mr. Forster, instead of opposing, took the matter in hand himself, and brought in a Compensation for Disturbance Bill on the part of the Government. It did not go far, and only entitled an evicted tenant to compensation when he could show that his inability to pay rent was not due to idleness or want of thrift. It passed the House of Commons but was ignominiously thrown out by the Lords. Mr. Parnell suggested that the Bill should be reintroduced and as part of the Appropriation Bill sent again to the Lords. But Mr. Forster refused to do this, and the Irish farmers, left to the mercy of the evictors, had to fall back on agitation and organization as their only resource.[2]

When Parliament rose in August, Mr. Parnell crossed over to Ireland and attended a series of meetings. He was not an orator, but he could say always what he wanted to say, and the thousands who listened to him had no difficulty in understanding what he wished them to do. Aiming then at the destruction of landlordism and the establishment of a peasant proprietary, he advised them to unite, to combine, to be loyal to each other, to refuse to pay unjust rents or submit to eviction, to have nothing to do with farms from which others had been evicted. "What are you to do," he said at Ennis in September, "to a tenant who bids for a farm from which his neighbour has been evicted?" "Shoot him," said a voice from the crowd. "I think," said Mr. Parnell, "I heard somebody say, 'Shoot him,' but I wish to point out to you a very much better way. When a man takes a farm from which another has been evicted you must show him on the roadside when you meet him, you must show him in the streets of the town, you must show him at the shop counter, in the fair and in the market-place, and even in the house of worship, by leaving him severely alone, by putting him into a moral Coventry, by isolating him from his kind as if he was a leper of old; you must show him your detestation of the crime he has committed, and you may depend upon it that there will be no man so full of avarice, so lost to shame as to dare the public opinion of all right-thinking men and to transgress your unwritten code of laws."[1]

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[1] *Parnell Movement*, pp. 197-9.

[2] *Annual Register*, pp. 79-88, 104; O'Brien's *Parnell*, i. 230-33.

Before the month was out this advice was acted upon in the case of Captain Boycott in Mayo, who dwelt near Ballinrobe, on the picturesque shores of Lough Mask. As agent to the Earl of Erne, he refused to accept the rents offered by the tenants, standing out for the full amounts due, and then issuing processes of ejectment. The tenants retaliated by attacking the process-server and driving him into the shelter of Lough Mask House. But further, partly by persuasion, principally by terror and threats, they got Captain Boycott's servants and labourers to leave him. No one would save his crops, no one would drive his car, the smith would not shoe his horses, the laundress would not wash for him, the grocer would not supply him with goods; even the post-boy was warned not to deliver his letters. The Ulster Orangemen came to the rescue, and fifty of them, escorted by police and military with two field-pieces, came to Lough Mask. They saved the Captain's crops, valued at £350, but at an estimated cost to the State and to the Orange Society of £3500; and when they left Lough Mask House became vacant, for Captain Boycott fled to England. The genial and witty parish priest of the Lough Mask district, Father John O'Malley, suggested to his friend Mr. Redpath, an American journalist, perplexed for a suitable word, that boycott was a better word than ostracise, the latter being too difficult to be understood by the people. The hint was taken, the word used in this sense gradually gained currency and became incorporated in the English language, and of all the weapons used by the Land League none was more dreaded by landlords and their friends than the terrible weapon of boycotting.[1]

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[1] O'Brien's *Life of Parnell*, i. 236-7; *Annual Register*, pp. 108-10.

All this time the Land League was spreading all over Ireland and even in Great Britain, while Mr. Davitt was extending it in America,[2] public meetings were being held every Sunday; the receipts at the central branch were coming in by hundreds and thousands of pounds, the police and process servers had been openly defied in the early part of the year in the wild and desolate regions of Carraroe, and since then many collisions had occurred between people and police.[3] And there were agrarian outrages too. In Mayo a bailiff named Fecrick had been shot, and a landlord named Lewin fired at; in Wexford a landlord's son had been shot dead, and in Galway Lord Montmorris had met a similar fate. All this had occurred before Parnell's Ennis speech and could not, therefore, be attributed to any advice he gave; but none the less these outrages came from the strained relations between landlord and tenant, and from the excitement which prevailed.[4]

Mr. Forster was perplexed. He had visited Ireland in the terrible year of 1846, and what he then saw made an indelible impression on his mind. With the generous love of the Quaker for his fellow-men, he relieved suffering and induced others to relieve, and he wished to give permanent relief to the Irish people.[5] And when he took office as Chief Secretary in 1880, his desire was to do good to Ireland.[6] The Irish members expected much from him, and were grievously disappointed that he had made no attempt to overawe the House of Lords after the rejection of the Disturbance Bill, still more so at his sending police and military to aid in the work of eviction; and when he announced in Parliament that he had caused buckshot to be served out to the police instead of the more dangerous ball cartridge, an Irish member hurled at him across the floor of the House the epithet, Buckshot Forster.[1] But angry as the Irish members might be, the English newspapers and Tory orators were more so. They assailed Forster as condoning illegality, leaving murder undetected, and allowing incitements to murder to go unpunished. Gradually he was thus driven down the abyss, and in the beginning of November Messrs. Parnell, Biggar, Dillon, T. D. Sullivan and Sexton, and nine other prominent Leaguers were prosecuted for conspiracy to incite the tenants not to pay their rents, and in consequence to injure the landlords. The trial lasted from the end of December to the end of January, and resulted in a disagreement, one juror declaring that ten jurymen were for acquittal.[2] To Mr. Forster the result was no surprise. He was not sanguine of obtaining a conviction, and satisfied that the ordinary law was unable to grapple with the Land League, was already pleading for coercion. The Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Cowper, vigorously supported his demand. But Mr. Gladstone was unwilling to acquiesce. Mr. Bright declared that for the state of Ireland force was no remedy, and Mr. Chamberlain's views were similar.[3] Forster, however, had supporters within the Cabinet, and was persuasive and persistent, and in addition threatened to resign.[4] At last the Ministry yielded, and when Parliament opened on the 6th of January the Queen's Speech announced that an Irish Land Bill would be introduced, but that it would be preceded by a Coercion Bill.[5]

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 118-21; Davitt, pp. 274-9.

[2] Davitt, pp. 247-55.

[3] *Ibid.* 213-30.

[4] *Ibid.* 261-3, 268-9; *Annual Register*, p. 110.

[5] Wemyss Reid's *Life of Forster*, i. 169, 172-203.

[6] *Ibid.* 235-6.

In the debate on the Address, Mr. Parnell made a carefully-prepared and very able speech. Condemning outrages and deprecating violence of language, he claimed that the Land League agitation was a purely constitutional movement. There had been, he admitted, some strong speeches made by thoughtless and irresponsible orators, but outrages had not always followed, and the very few which took place had been mischievously exaggerated by the English Press. He claimed for the people the right to organize and meet and demand reforms, and he warned the Government that coercion would increase rather than lessen their difficulties. Speaking without passion, and supported by statistics, he made such an impression that an Irish Tory member described the speech as one of the most adroit, intelligent and sagacious that he had ever heard delivered in the House of Commons.[1]

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[1] Davitt, p. 265.

[2] *Ibid.* 286-93; *Annual Register*, pp. 112-13, 115-16.

[3] *Parnell Movement*, p. 206.

[4] Wemyss Reid, ii. 256-73; O'Brien's *Parnell*, i. 258-62.

[5] *Annual Register*, pp. 5-6.

But Mr. Forster was not convinced, and when the debate on the Address was concluded, he introduced his Coercion Bill. It was called a Bill for the Protection of Person and Property in Ireland, was to last until the end of September 1882, and enabled the Lord-Lieutenant to arrest and detain in prison any one whom he reasonably suspected of unlawful acts. Mr. Forster was an eloquent speaker, and in describing the condition of Ireland it was a lurid picture which he drew. Nothing was omitted that could strengthen his case. Ireland was seething with lawlessness; agrarian outrages for the year were the highest on record; terror and intimidation were everywhere; houses and haystacks were burned; men taken from their beds at night and carded, perhaps maimed or murdered; and if they themselves were uninjured, at least their cattle were houghed or killed. No man was safe, and the law-abiding were shaking with fear. If a man worked for one who was boycotted, if he paid his rent against the wishes of his fellow-tenants, if he took an evicted farm, if he gave evidence against an accused person, or being a juryman convicted,—if he did any of these things he was marked for vengeance. The planners of these outrages were well known to the police; they were the *mauvais sujets*, the village tyrants of their districts; and Mr. Forster was convinced that when they were safely under lock and key the law-abiding citizen might sleep in peace. He ended by saying that to bring in any Coercion Bill was the most painful duty of his life, and that if he had thought such a duty would have devolved on him he would never have taken the office of Irish

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[1] Hansard, cclvii. 195-203, 251.

Secretary.[1] On the Irish benches there was no sympathetic response, and for five nights the Irish members debated and obstructed. At length, on the 2nd of February, after a continuous sitting of forty-one hours, the Speaker intervened. He described the speeches made as irrelevant, and the motions for adjournment as dilatory and obstructive, and stopping all further discussion he put the question, and the first reading was carried by an enormous majority.[2]

Challenged as to why he acted in this high-handed fashion, the Speaker replied that he acted on his own responsibility and from a sense of duty to the House, and the House by an enormous majority sustained him. But the Irish members were not to be silenced with impunity, and in criticizing the Speaker's conduct many speeches were made and much time wasted.[3] In these circumstances Mr. Gladstone got the assent of the House to new and drastic rules of procedure, the effect of which was to make the Speaker an autocrat. At any stage of a measure he was empowered to summarily stop all discussion and put the question, provided that there were 300 members at least present, that a Minister moved for urgency, and was sustained by a majority of three to one.[4] The new rules were manifestly aimed at the Irish members, and were not passed without some passionate scenes. On one occasion the whole party of thirty-six were suspended for the sitting.[5] When they resumed attendance their obstructive tactics were renewed, and in spite of the new rules the Protection of Person and Property Bill had not passed its final stages until the 28th of February. No Coercion Bill for Ireland has ever been delayed in the House of Lords, and on the 2nd of March it received the Royal Assent. It was soon supplemented by an Arms Act,[6] making it penal to carry arms in any district proclaimed by the Lord-Lieutenant. The enormous powers given by these Acts Mr. Forster proceeded to use, and before the end of March more than one prison was filled with the

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[1] Hansard, cclvii. 1209-35.

[2] *Ibid.* 2033-4; Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 292-3.

[3] Hansard, cclviii. 7-43.

[4] *Ibid.* 155-6.

[5] *Ibid.* 69-88.

[6] *Ibid.* cclix. 1481.

"village tyrants and dissolute ruffians" which he believed were keeping Ireland in disorder. Mr. Davitt's ticket-of-leave had also been cancelled in the end of February, and when the first of the Coercion Acts was passed he was already in Portland Prison.

With a sigh of relief Mr. Gladstone turned from the dreary work of repression to the work of reform, and on the 7th of April he introduced his Land Bill. A Commission—the Besborough Commission appointed in the previous year—had just recommended drastic changes in the land laws, and certainly Mr. Gladstone's Bill was a great step in advance. And it was certain also that it was a concession to agitation, and even to violence. Mr. Gladstone himself declared long after that "without the Land League the Act of 1881 would not now be on the Statute Book."[1] And an Ulster Liberal was assured by the Irish Attorney-General, Mr. Law, that no less than twenty-two Bills had been drafted by the Ministry, each an improvement on its predecessor; that "as lawlessness and outrage increased in Ireland, the Bill was broadened until it reached its final dimensions."[2] The Bill set up Land Courts to fix rents between landlord and tenant, giving the latter a judicial lease at the judicial rent fixed, giving him also free sale; and, further, the Bill facilitated land purchase.[3] This was a revolution rather than a reform. Mr. A. M. Sullivan has recorded that as he listened to Mr. Gladstone's speech introducing the Bill his mind went back to the days of Sharman Crawford and Lucas and Moore; he felt like one who, after the cruel trials and privations of the desert, had at length got a glimpse of the Promised Land.[4]

Yet on the Irish benches the Bill was coldly received. The enforcement of Coercion had embittered the Irish members against the Government. They spoke of Forster as if he were Cromwell, and Gladstone they hated because he sustained Forster; and any measure of reform coming from such men they would have received with suspicion and without gratitude.

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[1] O'Brien's *Parnell*, i. 293.

[2] *Ibid.* 299.

[3] Hansard, cclx. 890-926.

[4] *New Ireland*, p. 457.

An Irish National Convention left Parnell free to accept or reject the Bill, and in fact Parnell did not vote for it on the second or third reading.[1] He found fault with it because it left the arrears due since the bad years of 1878-9 untouched, because it did nothing for leaseholders, or for the relief of congestion in the poverty-stricken districts of the West; and he had no hope that the Land Courts would be fair to the tenants.[2] But though Mr. Parnell did all this he wanted the Bill, and in reality was playing a deep game. To welcome the measure might have encouraged the Government to accept Tory amendments in Committee; to find fault induced the Government to accept amendments from the Irish members. Many of these amendments were moved by Mr. Parnell; others by Mr. Charles Russell—afterwards Lord Russell of Killowen; but the best work was done on the Irish side by a young man of twenty-five, Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P. for Wexford. Not even Mr. Gladstone had mastered more thoroughly the whole details of this most complicated measure. In 1880 Mr. Healy acted as Parnell's private Secretary; in 1881 he was prosecuted by Forster, and the same year was elected to Parliament, where, though he spoke often, his ability did not gain rapid recognition. But when the Land Bill emerged from Committee his fame was assured, and he has since shown himself to be one of the most brilliant Irishmen who ever entered the British Parliament.[3]

On the 30th of July the Land Bill was read a third time. In the House of Lords there was the usual whittling down of every concession to Ireland. Negotiations between the two Houses followed, ending in compromise and agreement, and on the 22nd of August the Bill received the Royal Assent.[4]

A fierce struggle was meanwhile carried on in Ireland. In spite of Forster's assurances not to use the Coercion Act except against dissolute ruffians and village tyrants, those imprisoned were usually men of unimpeachable character, the most trusted and respected men in their districts. Mr. Dillon was sent to Kilmainham in May, and a fortnight later Father Sheehy of Kilmallock. The police were freely placed at the service of evicting landlords, and more than once collisions between people and police occurred. In one of these a woman was killed in Mayo, and in Sligo two men, while the police also suffered at the hands of the infuriated mob. Many districts were proclaimed, and over these magistrates armed with extraordinary powers swaggered like Turkish pashas. In Kilmallock a hot-headed bravo named Clifford Lloyd, in his capacity of resident magistrate, drove peaceful citizens off the streets with his stick, sentenced women at his residence to terms of imprisonment, and had girls prosecuted because one of them called a policemen "Clifford Lloyd's pet." These things were repeatedly brought before Parliament, but each time Forster defended both magistrates and police.[1] The struggle, however, was telling on him, and in June he wished to resign, sorrowfully bewailing that now he could never do what he wished to have done for Ireland.[2]

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[1] O'Brien's *Parnell*, i. 294; Hansard, cclxi. 928.

[2] Hansard, cclxi. 883-97.

[3] O'Connor's *Parnell Movement*, pp. 208-12; *Annual Register* (copy o original Land Bill and of Act passed).

[4] Hansard, cclxi.-cclxv.

In the middle of August there was a gleam of hope. Outrages decreased in July and again in the first half of August.[3] Mr. Gladstone favoured the relaxation of coercion. Mr. Dillon had already been released owing to ill-health, and Mr. Gladstone wished for the release of Father Sheehy, thinking it would give the Land Act a better chance of fair play with the people. But Mr. Forster was still wedded to coercion, and wanted first of all to break up the Land League and weaken Parnell's hold on the people.[4] This task was not so easy. In September a great National Convention was held in Dublin to discuss the whole Irish situation, and lasted for three days. Mr. Parnell advised that there should be no rush to the new Land Courts, that only certain test cases should be submitted under the direction of the Land League. A rush to the Courts, he thought, would mean imperfect consideration of cases and small reductions. This advice was accepted by the Convention.[1] Both Forster and Gladstone became angry. Forster had long entertained something like personal animosity towards Parnell; Gladstone believed him to be mischievously interfering, standing between the living and the dead, "not, like Aaron, to stay but to spread the plague"; and in this same speech he told him in menacing tones that the resources of civilization were not yet exhausted.[2] This speech was delivered at Leeds on the 7th of October, and on the 10th of the same month Parnell replied to it at Wexford. He defied Gladstone to trample on the rights of the Irish nation, with no moral force behind him, and in language of scorn and passion described him as a masquerading knight-errant ready to champion every nation but Ireland.[3] Three days later Parnell was lodged in Kilmainham Prison; and when Gladstone announced the fact at a public meeting in London, his audience sprang to their feet and cheered "as if it had been the news of a signal victory gained by England over a hated and formidable enemy."[4] Dillon, Sexton, and O'Kelly, M.P.'s, were also lodged in Kilmainham. They struck back by issuing a manifesto advising the people to pay no rent. But the manifesto was assailed by Dr. Croke, Archbishop of Cashel, one of the greatest friends of the League, and it was disavowed by the priests, and in reality fell flat. A week later, Forster, on his own responsibility, declared the Land League an unlawful association, the meetings of which would be forcibly suppressed. The same day the Land Courts were first opened and were thronged with tenants seeking a judicial rent. For the moment the popular movement was submerged. Forster was triumphant, and Parnell was impotent behind prison bars.[5]

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[1] *Vide* Hansard, cclxii.-cclxv. ; T. P. O'Connor's *Parnell Movement*, pp. 229-30.

[2] Reid's *Forster*, ii. 323-4.

[3] Hansard, cclxv. 252.

[4] Reid's *Forster*, ii. 334-7.

Just at this date a noted figure passed away in the person of John MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam. He died in November, being then ninety years old. As a public man he had partly outlived his fame, and his condemnation of the Land League in its earlier stages was a shock to many. In his old age he was given as his coadjutor a prelate whom he disliked, and against whose appointment he publicly protested, and these things embittered his last days.

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[1] O'Brien's *Parnell*, i. 305-6.
[2] *Annual Register*, p. 213; Reid, ii. 352.
[3] O'Brien's *Parnell*, i. 308-13.
[4] Reid, ii. 355-6.
[5] *Ibid.* 357-9.

Had he lived a few months longer he would have seen stirring times. Coercion was uncontrolled. Forster, given a free hand, was as absolute as the Czar of Russia. Police, military, magistrates, law officers were at his command. And he was not sparing in the use of his power. He filled the jails. He dispersed League meetings, raided League offices, confiscated League property, prohibited the sale and circulation of the League organ, *United Ireland.* Six special magistrates with extraordinary powers were each given a district, and each with authority to do just what he pleased. They arrested, they prosecuted, they imprisoned, aided the evictor, batoned and bludgeoned the people, and a County Inspector issued a circular to the police authorizing them to shoot at sight any one whom they suspected of an intention to commit murder.[1] And yet Ireland was not pacified. In place of the suppressed Land League a Ladies' Land League was formed. It was attacked by Cardinal M'Cabe, Archbishop of Dublin, but vigorously defended by Dr. Croke. These ladies carried on the work of their imprisoned brothers, and in most cases were indeed far more violent of speech. A few were imprisoned, but even Mr. Forster shrank from the wholesale imprisonment of women, and the Ladies' Land League continued their work. *United Ireland* was circulated in spite of magistrates aud police. Men imprisoned had their crops saved by friendly neighbours, and were elected to representative positions by popular votes. And Mr. Parnell and Mr. Dillon were voted the freedom of Dublin, Cork and other cities. Nor were outrages lessened, but increased. Parnell had predicted that his place would be taken by Captain Moonlight. Forster feared that secret societies would become active. Both expectations were realized. In the darkness of night bands of Moonlighters went abroad, fired into houses, terrorized landlords, bailiffs and grabbers, houghed their cattle, wounded or perhaps murdered themselves. In November Forster thought that the best thing for Ireland

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[1] T. P. O'Connor, p. 246.

and himself would be his replacement by some one "not tarred by the Coercion brush," and as the old year went out his modest wish was that the new year might be a less bad year than the last.[1] He had, indeed, no reason to be sanguine. For in 1881 the number of agrarian outrages was the highest since 1879.[2] In the first quarter of 1881 there was one murder; in the first quarter of 1882 there were six; and for March 1882 the number of agrarian outrages was greater than for the preceding month of October, when the Land League was suppressed. Lord Cowper sorrowfully admitted that the police had led the Government astray, and that when they said they knew the planners of outrages they had been mistaken.[3]

One last effort Forster made to retrieve his already damaged reputation, and in March 1882 he went through the disturbed districts of Limerick, Clare and Galway; and in such stormy centres as Tulla and Athenry appealed in person to the people. Let them cease to countenance outrages and the prison doors would be soon thrown open. But the people listened to him with impatience; and while their trusted leaders were in prison and their liberties trampled under foot, they were not to be cajoled.[4] Mr. Gladstone made a personal appeal to Cardinal Newman, asking him to use his influence with the Pope so that pressure might be brought to bear on the Irish priests. The Premier evidently thought it useless to appeal to the Irish bishops. The spectacle was indeed a strange one to see the author of *Vaticanism* thus appealing for aid to the Pope. But Cardinal Newman replied somewhat coldly that while the Pope could do everything on a question of faith or morals, his intervention could do little on a purely political question.[5] What, then, was to be done? Forster's remedy was more drastic coercion, more prosecutions, more imprisonments, more military and police, more magistrates like Clifford Lloyd.[6] But it was quite plain that coercion had failed, and it was certainly not plain that more coercion would succeed. Besides, even England

[1] Reid's *Forster*, ii. 364-71, 380.

[2] *Annual Register*, p. 1882.

[3] O'Brien's *Parnell*, i. 330.

[4] Reid, ii. 390-406.

[5] Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 302-3.

[6] Reid, ii. 415-20.

was getting tired of Forster. Englishmen respect law and do not like coercion, which is the negation of ordinary law, and, above all, they did not like coercion which was a failure. The section among the Liberals which always opposed coercion gained new adherents, and in the Press and on platforms Forster was assailed from his own side. He was assailed also by prominent Tories who condemned the continued imprisonment of so many prominent men, and who expressed their readiness to outbid the Liberals on the Land question by voting for peasant proprietary. It seemed as if the Tories were to be the champions of freedom and the Liberals the champions of repression.[1]

Just then (in April) Parnell was liberated on parole to attend his nephew's funeral at Paris. Passing through London, he saw Mr. MacCarthy and Captain O'Shea, the latter a Whig Home Ruler; and through these he intimated to Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain, that if the arrears question was settled by Government he and his friends would withdraw the No-rent Manifesto, and gradually slow down the agitation. The offer was eagerly accepted. Gladstone and Chamberlain, in opposition to Forster, obtained the support of the Cabinet; Parnell, Dillon, O'Kelly and Davitt were liberated; and Forster and Cowper resigned, and were replaced by Lord Spencer and Lord Frederick Cavendish. This was the result of what came to be called the Kilmainham Treaty.[2] The transformation was indeed complete. Coercion was in the dust, the prisoners free, the harassed tenant to be relieved from the burden of arrears, while the whole nation burst into a shout of joy. Nor was there any suspicion that the cloudless sky was so soon to be darkened by the wicked work of the assassin.

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[1] Reid, ii. 383-5; O'Brien's *Parnell*, i. 332-4.

[2] Reid, ii. 425-54; O'Brien's *Parnell*, i. 336-49.

CHAPTER XIII

The Coercionist Régime

MANY Fenians like Davitt joined the Land League when it was formed. Many others refused to do so, having no faith in constitutional agitation. These were not necessarily in favour of violence or outrage, and only hoped for an opportunity to join in some open war against England. A third class were those with objects, half agrarian, half national, who believed that any weapon might be used in fighting the Government or the landlords. In secret conspiracy, in violence, in murder if necessary, they put their faith. In the country districts they swelled the ranks of the Moonlighters. In Dublin there was a special Secret Society called the Invincibles. Of national, or even agrarian, objects they appear to have had no definite idea. Their ambition was "to make history" by murdering those who tyrannized over Ireland, and of these Forster, the Chief Secretary, and Mr. Burke, the Under Secretary, were the chief. The latter was an old official with landlord proclivities, a strong man who ruled Forster as well as Ireland. But the plans of the Invincibles often miscarried, and so frequent and so marvellous were the escapes of Forster that it seemed as if Providence itself had intervened on his behalf.[1]

Mr. Burke was less fortunate. On the 6th of May the new Viceroy, Lord Spencer, and the new Chief Secretary, Lord Frederick Cavendish, entered Dublin in state; and when the State ceremonies were over and evening had come, both, as well as Mr. Burke, made their way to the Phœnix Park. Lord Cavendish was specially unfortunate. Had he accepted Lord Spencer's invitation to drive with him, he would have escaped the doom which overtook him. Had Lord Spencer not taken an unusual route to the Park, he would have passed where the subsequent tragedy took place, and have prevented it. Finally, had Lord Cavendish not been with Burke, no harm would have befallen him; for, when the whole ghastly tale was unfolded, it appeared that it was Burke the assassins wanted, and that they did not even know who Cavendish was. At seven in the evening, in sight of the Viceregal Lodge, in the full light of day, both Burke and Cavendish were set upon and cut to pieces with knives.[1]

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[1] Reid, ii. 466-9.

Mr. Davitt has vividly described what followed. On the 6th of May Parnell, Dillon and O'Kelly, M.P.'s, went from London to Portland Prison, and Davitt, once more free, returned with them to London. He noted that Parnell was specially jubilant. Forster was beaten and disgraced. Gladstone had abandoned Coercion, and was to legislate on the Arrears question; even the Tories had declared for land purchase. "We are on the eve," he said, "of something like Home Rule." He was specially pleased with Lord Frederick Cavendish, "one of the most modest men in the House, and a thorough supporter of the new policy." Just as the reunited friends were spending a pleasant evening in the Westminster Palace Hotel, a telegram was handed in announcing that the Chief Secretary and Under Secretary had been murdered in the Phœnix Park, and that the assassins had escaped. Stunned by the blow, Parnell wished to retire from public life; there was no use, he thought, asking the country to make such sacrifices as it had been making if assassins were thus to undo all that had been done. He called on Sir Charles Dilke, who noted that he was "pale, careworn, altogether unstrung." Parnell proposed to Gladstone to retire from public life altogether; but Gladstone disapproved, thinking that if Parnell went, no restraining influence would remain in Ireland, and no repressive act would avail to put down outrages.[2]

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[1] *Annual Register*, p. 1882; O'Brien's *Parnell*, i. 353-5.

[2] Davitt, pp. 355-9; Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 307-10; O'Brien's *Parnell*, i. 353-8.

A manifesto was then issued by Parnell, Davitt and Dillon deploring the murder as the worst that had stained the annals of Ireland for fifty years, and declaring that nothing could wipe away the stain but bringing the assassins to justice. All over Ireland, and among the Irish abroad, the same feeling was shown. There was not so much sympathy with Burke, so long the enemy of Irish popular movements; but shame was felt that a kind-hearted English gentleman, who had come as the messenger of peace, should be thus wantonly and wickedly struck down.

In England there was no serious effort made to connect Parnell or the Land League with the murders. And if Gladstone had had his way the milder and wiser policy of reconciliation and peace would have been continued. But it was impossible in face of enraged public opinion in England. In some places Irishmen were assailed simply because they were Irish; in many places they were dismissed from their employments. It was felt that a determined effort should be made to put down the Irish secret societies, and that until this was done neither England nor Ireland could be at peace. This was the state of things when the House of Commons met on the 8th of May. Only four days before Parnell was the victor of the hour. Gladstone, his assailant of October 1881, was now his friend and even champion; Forster was discredited and disgraced, a failure in the eyes of the whole Empire. The latter was speaking when Parnell, fresh from Kilmainham, entered the House and was received by his followers with rapturous cheers. Bitterly Forster assailed him and the Government which had entered into any arrangement with him. Going back to the days of Henry VII., he likened Parnell to the great Earl of Kildare whom all Ireland could not rule, and who in consequence was charged to rule Ireland by the King. "In like manner if all England cannot govern the hon. member for Cork, let us acknowledge that he is the greatest power in Ireland to-day."[1] It was the hour of Parnell's triumph and of Forster's defeat.

[1] Hansard, cclxix.

The Phœnix Park murder effected a disastrous change, and on the 8th of May Parnell appeared in the House of Commons, careworn and depressed. With unwonted feeling he lamented the murders, begging the Government not to again turn to coercion. But the Government was in reality unable to resist the tide of English rage. There was a howl for repressive laws, and on the 11th of May Sir William Harcourt introduced the Crimes Bill, the most drastic Coercion Bill brought into Parliament for half a century.[1] For murder, treason, attacking dwelling-houses, crimes of aggravated violence, trial by jury was to give way to trial by a Commission of Judges. In proclaimed districts the police might make domiciliary visits either by night or day, and arrest those out after dark. Newspapers could be seized, meetings proclaimed and dispersed. The summary jurisdiction of magistrates was enormously increased. Finally, Courts of Secret Inquiry could be set up, recalling the Star-Chamber Courts of Charles I. The Act was to last for three years.[2] Hampered by the state of public opinion in Parliament and outside, the Irish members had no chance of defeating the measure, yet they fought it with vigour and persistence. But when the whole party were suspended, some of them even being absent at the time, further resistance was seen to be useless. They withdrew, protesting against their treatment, and throwing upon the Government the whole responsibility for a "Bill which has been urged through the House by a course of violence and subterfuge, and which, when passed into law, will be devoid of moral force, and will be no constitutional Act of Parliament." The Crimes Bill rapidly passed through its remaining stages, and soon received the Royal Assent.[3]

At the same time the Government introduced an Arrears Bill which also passed into law. It applied only to tenants under £30, and to those who could satisfy a legal tribunal that they were unable to pay all the arrears of rent they owed. In such cases, if they paid the rent for 1881 and one year of the arrears due, the State, out of the Church Surplus Fund, paid another year of the arrears, and the remainder was wiped out. Thus did the Government carry out its side of the Kilmainham Treaty. Mr. Parnell on his side suppressed the Ladies' Land League by refusing to give additional funds. He refused to countenance Davitt's scheme of land nationalization. And, in opposition to Dillon, he expressed his determination to "slow down the agitation." Tired of violence, he wanted the country to settle down to a moderate and purely constitutional movement.[1]

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[1] O'Brien's *Parnell*, i. 358-9.

[2] *Annual Register*, p. 65.

[3] *Ibid.* 78-88, 94-110.

But the militant spirits among the popular leaders wanted to resist the evictors and the Crimes Act by a militant association such as the Land League, and under pressure from these Parnell's hands were forced. A National Conference was then held in Dublin on the 17th of October, and the Irish National League was formed. The chief planks in its programme were Home Rule, peasant proprietary, local self-government, the extension of the franchise, the encouragement of Irish labour and industrial interests. Modelled on the Land League, the National League had Mr. Parnell as its President, had its central committee and central offices in Dublin, and branches throughout the land. And in turn it extended to England and America, and even to Australia. The League had also its official press organ—*United Ireland*—edited by one of the ablest of journalists, Mr. William O'Brien.[2]

Meanwhile, in addition to the Phœnix Park murders, many other murders have to be recorded for the year 1882. Early in the year the Huddys, Lord Ardilaun's bailiffs, were murdered, and their bodies thrown into Lough Mask, and an informer named Bailey was murdered in the streets of Dublin. In April a Mr. Smyth of Westmeath was shot dead. In June Mr. Walter Burke and his military escort were shot dead in the county of Galway, and in the same county and month Lord Clanricarde's agent was also murdered; nor was any one ever brought to justice for these crimes.[3] But the most atrocious of all these murders was that of the Joyces of Maamtrasna, in the remote district of Joyce country on the borders of Mayo and Galway. This murder took place in August. Suspected of knowing all about the murder of the Huddys and of being likely to tell what they knew, the whole Joyce family were attacked by a band of armed and disguised men, and Joyce, his mother, wife, son and daughter were cruelly murdered. Another son was left for dead, but as if by a miracle survived.[1] In November Judge Lawson was attacked in the streets of Dublin, as was a Mr. Field and some detectives, one of the detectives being killed.[2] For the whole year the number of murders was twenty-six, the total number of agrarian outrages of all kinds being higher than for the two preceding years taken together.[3]

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[1] O'Brien's *Parnell*, i. 364-6.

[2] Davitt's *Fall of Feudalism*, pp. 368-79.

[3] *Annual Register*, pp. 183-4, 192.

With the new year came quieter times, and when Parliament met in February, the Queen's Speech noted with pleasure that there was an improvement in the social condition of Ireland, that agrarian crimes had diminished, and that the laws had been everywhere upheld.[4] The Chief Secretary at that date was Mr. George Trevelyan, but the real ruler of Ireland was Lord Spencer, who, unlike Mr. Trevelyan, had a seat in the Cabinet. He was a strong man, of great courage and resolution, and under his directions the Crimes Act was rigorously enforced. Planners of outrages were perseveringly tracked and severely punished, meetings were proclaimed, newspapers suppressed, police and magistrates urged on to do their duty. And as if the Crimes Act were not enough, an old statute of Edward III. was dug up from mediæval times. Under its provisions Mr. Davitt and Mr. Healy were prosecuted for speeches they made. They might have escaped imprisonment had they given bail; but they refused, and were sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Mr. Biggar was also prosecuted for having attacked Lord Spencer in one of his speeches, but the prosecution was dropped. And a prosecution of William

[1] *Annual Register*, p. 194.

[2] *Ibid.* 197.

[3] O'Brien's *Parnell*, i. 373.

[4] *Annual Register*, pp. 13-14.

O'Brien for some seditious writing in *United Ireland* only resulted in a disagreement of the jury.[1]

An attempt was also made to damage Mr. Parnell. In February the Phœnix Park murderers were put on trial. Millions of men strained their ears to listen to the evidence, which was indeed startling enough, especially when the most prominent of the Invincibles, Mr. Carey, turned informer. As a result of his evidence five men were hanged, two sentenced to penal servitude for life, and several others to various periods of imprisonment. Carey himself was pardoned, but a few months later was shot dead by an Invincible agent on board a steamer bound for Capetown. "One result of the trials," says the *Annual Register*, "was to fully justify the Government in any action which had resulted in the substitution of a new Chief Secretary for Mr. Forster. . . . It reads like the grimmest of satires upon his term of office to know that at a time when the jails were choking with the number of Mr. Forster's suspects; when according to his own belief he had every dangerous man in the island under lock and key, his own life was in incessant danger at the hands of men of whose existence he was guilelessly unaware."[2]

All this, no doubt, only deepened Mr. Forster's animosity towards Parnell and towards Ireland, and when it appeared from the evidence that Carey had been on friendly terms with some Irish members, and that the assassins' knives had been for a short time deposited at the National League Office in London, the ex-Chief Secretary turned upon Mr. Parnell in the House of Commons. He did not indeed charge him with encouraging murder, but he did charge him with not having condemned it, or used his influence to put murder down. And he charged generally that crime had dogged the footsteps of the League. In a crowded House, crowded in every part, with the Prince of Wales and Cardinal Manning in the galleries, Mr. Parnell rose to reply. But he disdained to be judged by the House of Commons or by English public opinion. He was responsible only to the Irish people, who alone had a right to judge him. As for Forster, he treated him with scorn as a discredited politician who had forfeited all claim to sit in judgment on any sensible or serious public man. He suggested, indeed, that while the Crimes Act was being enforced Forster ought to be in Ireland to aid Lord Spencer in sending men to the gallows, in holding secret inquiries, in wringing taxes from a starving peasantry to pay for outrages which they had not committed and with which they did not sympathize.[1]

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[1] O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 1-2; *Annual Register*, pp. 189-92.

[2] P. 197.

In England this reply was considered unsatisfactory, but in Ireland it only augmented Mr. Parnell's power. In January Mr. O'Brien was returned M.P. for Mallow, his opponent being Mr. Nash, the new Solicitor-General, whom he defeated by nearly two to one. In July Mr. Healy, lately imprisoned, was returned triumphantly for the county of Monaghan, hitherto a Whig stronghold. And a series of successful Nationalist meetings were then held throughout Ulster in spite of Orange threats and Orange revolvers.[2] Finally, Mr. Parnell got a National testimonial. It had been set on foot to pay off a mortgage of £13,000 on his property. An Irish Whig Catholic M.P., Mr. Errington, then at Rome with credentials from the British Foreign Office, did what damage he could against Parnell and his friends, with the result that a Papal Rescript was issued condemning the Parnell testimonial. The Pope, probably misinformed and not understanding the Irish movement, was anxious to be friendly with England, which, after all, was eminently fair to Catholics throughout the world. Hence the Rescript. It did not, however, injure but rather served the Parnell testimonial, and when the lists closed in the end of 1883, the large sum of £37,000 had been subscribed.[3]

All that year and during the next Mr. Parnell's position was one of difficulty. Lord Spencer's rigorous enforcement of Coercion rendered it hazardous to hold meetings or make strong speeches. Mr. Parnell left the fight in Ireland to his lieutenants, notably to Mr. O'Brien, who, with a courage and determination equal to Lord Spencer's own, struck back at the

[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 38-48. [2] *Ibid.* 203-4, 206-7. [3] *Ibid.* 207-8.

forces of Coercion. Every illegality committed, every encroachment on popular rights was mercilessly exposed in *United Ireland*, and in 1884 Mr. O'Brien was able to have several prominent officials convicted of hideous and unnatural crimes, with consequent loss of prestige to the Government to which they belonged. In America the National League was largely in the hands of revolutionists, and while Parnell himself was not a member of the Clan-na-Gael, the fact that he was associated with them told against him in England. Lastly, new and drastic rules of Parliamentary procedure adopted in the autumn session of 1882 seriously hampered his power in Parliament, for these rules applied to the whole field of Parliamentary action, and while materially augmenting the powers of the Speaker and Chairman of Committee, correspondingly curtailed the rights of private members and of minorities.[1]

Yet it was certain that as time passed Mr. Parnell's power and influence were increasing, and that the Liberal Coercionist Government was growing weaker. The meetings held in Ulster, following the Monaghan election, did something to weaken the power of landlord ascendancy and Orange bigotry, and were a suitable and useful preparation for the Nationalist victories subsequently won.[2] The Irish leader had indeed his troubles with the American extremists, and he was specially wroth with those who organized dynamite outrages in England. Nevertheless he kept the extremists on his side, because he had no regard for English opinion, and refused, at the bidding of Englishmen, to condemn those who preferred to love Ireland, no matter how mischievous might be their policy or how cruel or criminal their methods.[3] The priests he kept with him because, in spite of the fact that revolutionists were aiding him, the priests knew that he was no revolutionist himself but a constitutional leader. And they liked him all the better because English intrigue was so busy against him in Rome, English intrigue being also busy against themselves.[4] There were a few English Liberals too, men like Mr. Cowen and Mr. Labouchere, who helped Parnell. They hated Coercion, and were disgusted at what was being done in Ireland under a Liberal Government, and in their disgust they cast aside party allegiance for the sake of popular rights, and frequently voted with the Parnellites.

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[1] *Annual Register*, 1882, pp. 26-29, 36-40.

[2] O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 21-22.

[3] *Annnal Register*, 1885, pp. 17-18.

[4] O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 23-27.

The Government policy in Egypt was still more disastrous to the Liberals. The defeats of Hicks Pasha and General Baker (February 1884), and the vacillation and indecision which led to the appointment, and finally to the sacrifice of General Gordon, supplied the Tories with a favourite and popular subject of attack. In these attacks both Parnellites and Tories fought side by side, their common object being to defeat the Liberal Government. And in 1884 they nearly succeeded. The vote of censure in February was only defeated by a majority of 19 in a House of more than 600 members; and three months later the Government majority was but 28, when a further vote of censure was moved.[1]

With one small section of the Tories the relations of the Parnellites were especially cordial. This was the Fourth Party, consisting of only four members—Lord R. Churchill, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Gorst and Sir H. Wolff—all men of first-class ability. They had no separate party organization and no elected leader, though Lord R. Churchill generally obtained recognition as such. He was one of the most fascinating figures in English public life—bold, outspoken, fearless; a hater of shams; an aristocrat with popular sympathies; a Tory by family ties and traditions, but much more of a Liberal than many of the Liberals themselves. He called himself a Tory Democrat. He disapproved of the old Tory programme consisting of Coercion for Ireland and foreign war; despised the accepted Tory leaders, whom he irreverently called the "old gang," and wanted men who would bring themselves in touch with popular needs and compete with their Liberal opponents for popular support.[2]

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[1] *Annual Register*, 1884, pp. 33-44, 65-70.

[2] *Churchill's Life*, i. 234-5, 296-301.

Disliking Coercion, he supported Forster's Coercion Bill of 1881 "with reluctance and disgust," and he frequently and vigorously attacked what he considered Forster's abuse of Coercion.[1] The favour he thus attained in the eyes of the Parnellites was further augmented by his supporting the demand in 1884 of an inquiry into the case of the Maamtrasna murderers. One of the four men executed was declared to be innocent by the remaining three, and he vehemently declared his own innocence on the scaffold. For arraigning the Government for its conduct in the matter, Mr. O'Brien had been prosecuted in January 1883. But the voice of protest and complaint was only silenced for a time, and in the summer of 1884 one of the informers, a man named Casey, told the Archbishop of Tuam, Dr. MacEvilly, that Myles Joyce was innocent, and that his own evidence accusing Joyce had been wrung from him under a threat to have his life sacrificed if he did not swear away the life of poor Joyce. Dr. MacEvilly, who then demanded an inquiry, had some claims to be heard, for he had refused to identify himself in any way with the popular movement. He was in fact a strong opponent of the National League, as he had been of the Land League, disliking the political leaders of the time and their methods. In consequence he stood high in the esteem of Dublin Castle. And yet Lord Spencer would not accede to his request and have the Maamtrasna case reopened. When it was brought in the autumn session before Parliament, Lord R. Churchill supported the Parnellites and voted with them in the minority.[2]

He also supported them when the Franchise Bill was introduced establishing household suffrage throughout the United Kingdom. Some of the less advanced of the Liberals would have been glad to leave Ireland out. But Mr. Gladstone would not create a fresh Irish grievance, and Mr. Trevelyan, the Chief Secretary, would instantly resign office if the Bill were not extended to Ireland. The great majority of the Tories disliked the measure for any portion of the United

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[1] *Churchill's Life*, i. 201, 209.

[2] *Annual Register*, pp. 236-7.

Kingdom, and at first it was thrown out in the House of Lords. And it only passed when the Liberals consented to introduce at once a Redistribution of Seats Bill. With no respect for party traditions or party discipline, Lord R. Churchill supported the Franchise Bill, even when unaccompanied by a Redistribution Bill. He supported its second reading in opposition to the nominal Tory leader, Sir Stafford Northcote. He opposed Mr. Broderick's amendment excepting Ireland. And when Mr. W. H. Smith, another Tory M.P., a successful shopkeeper who had acquired wealth by selling books, sneered at Irish poverty and proposed the giving of votes to Irish mud-cabins, Lord R. Churchill vigorously assailed him, and very effectually disposed of the mud-cabin argument.[1]

This was the state of things early in 1885. The Franchise Bill was then law, and household suffrage had been extended to Ireland. The Redistribution Bill had also become law, leaving, in spite of many protests from English members, the number of Irish seats undiminished. The Crimes Act would expire in August, and Irish members wanted to know if it was to be renewed. On the Franchise and Redistribution Bills they had acted with the Liberals. But if the Crimes Act was to be renewed, all the indications were that Lord Randolph Churchill and Mr. Parnell would unite their strength with the other enemies of the Government and perhaps hurl Mr. Gladstone from power.

Lord R. Churchill's influence was then considerable. He commanded the attention and attracted the support of the masses as no other Tory did; and his popularity in the country had its effect in Parliament. The older and more staid of the party regarded him with suspicion and distrust; but the more militant and aggressive, the young men who looked to the future with confidence, men with initiative and ambition were ready to follow where he led. And in any arrangements for the future which the Tory leaders might make, these young men and their brilliant leader could not be ignored. Mr. Parnell on his side, in his own party and in his own country, was supreme. No one dared oppose his nominee at elections;

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[1] *Annual Register*, p. 125; *Churchill's Life*, i. 344-6.

and with the extension of the franchise it was well known that his strength in Parliament would be enormously increased. Of late years his attendance in the House of Commons had been irregular and intermittent. But the Irish Party work had nevertheless been well done, for the party numbered among its members men who would have made their mark in any deliberative assembly; men in many respects far abler than Mr. Parnell himself. In 1885 Mr. Sexton's great powers were matured. He was then recognized as the greatest orator in Parliament after Mr. Gladstone; a ready and powerful debater, an expert in finance and figures, with unlimited capacity for Parliamentary work. The reputation earned by Mr. Healy on the Land Act of 1881 had since been maintained and increased. He had been called to the Bar and had already acquired a large practice. But he managed somehow to attend on all important occasions in Parliament, and always intervened with advantage in debate. He had enormous capacity for work, mastered details with extraordinary swiftness, and in the usually dull routine work of drafting clauses and amending Bills he never tired. In debate he seized at once on the weak points in his opponent's case; his readiness of reply was remarkable; and the antagonist who provoked him received a scathing chastisement not easily forgotten. Mr. Arthur O'Connor was cool, clear, unimpassioned, always master of his subject, a most dangerous man to attack. Mr. T. P. O'Connor was more brilliant, effective as a writer as well as a speaker, indeed one of the readiest and most effective speakers in Parliament. Mr. William O'Brien shone brightest as a militant and fearless journalist; but he had the gift of oratory greater perhaps than any of his colleagues, and on the platform could sway an Irish crowd as he willed. There were others in the Irish ranks less generously endowed than these, yet capable of doing useful work either in Parliament or outside it. All were eager as Mr. Parnell was to make an end of the Liberal Government. Nor was anything required but a suitable opportunity to have Irish and Tory coalesce.[1]

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[1] *Parnell Movement.*

The opportunity soon came. The reckless extravagance of an Egyptian Khedive had so involved Egypt in financial difficulties that her foreign creditors had been compelled to interfere in her internal affairs. England, being the most deeply concerned, undertook to organize the Egyptian army, to superintend the administration of justice, to watch over the raising and spending of the taxes. But Mr. Gladstone's Government had no desire that England should remain in permanent occupation of the country, still less to extend or maintain Egyptian influence in the Soudan. Their anxiety was to restore order and tranquillity to Egypt, and have that country confine its efforts to its own territory; and for this purpose General Gordon was despatched in January 1884 to Khartoum. His instructions when leaving England were to take back to Egypt the Egyptian garrisons at Khartoum and in other Soudanese towns, leaving the Soudan to work out its own salvation as best it could. Urgency was necessary, for the Mahdi, claiming to have a religious mission, had placed himself at the head of the whole strength of Moslem fanaticism, and Khartoum was seriously threatened by him. Gordon was an able man, but a bad selection for such a mission. He was a man of imagination, of impulse, of religious zeal, a crusader better suited for the days of Richard Cœur de Lion than for the nineteenth century. Disobeying his orders, he remained at Khartoum instead of evacuating it; prepared to "smash the Mahdi" instead of leaving the Soudan to its fate; waited at Khartoum till the waves of Moslem fury were already beating against its walls, and then he could only appeal to England for relief. A relieving expedition was sent, tardily and with reluctance indeed, but when Khartoum was sighted it was already in the Mahdi's hands, and Gordon was slain.[1]

The Tories were not slow to take advantage of this calamity. Gordon, half saint, half mystic, had become a national hero. His absolute unselfishness, his splendid courage, his contempt of danger which would have appalled other men, his confidence in God and ceaseless walking in the presence of

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[1] *Life of Granville*, ii. 381-402.

Lawrence.

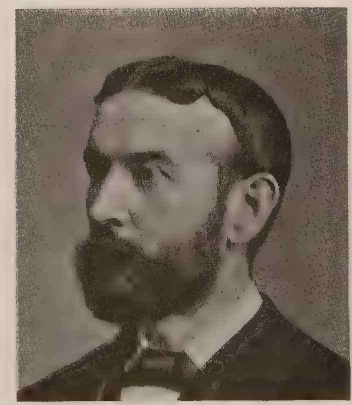
MICHAEL DAVITT

Stereoscopic.

JUSTIN McCARTHY

Elliott & Fry.

T. P. O'CONNOR


Lawrence.

THOMAS SEXTON

Lawrence.

T. M. HEALY

Lawrence.

WILLIAM O'BRIEN

the Unseen, had captivated the popular imagination; and when it was found that Khartoum had fallen and that Gordon had perished, the tempest of the people's wrath was turned against the Government. Their irresolution, their change of purpose, their tardiness of preparation, their want of vigour were all fiercely and passionately condemned. Even the Queen did not hesitate to criticize and to condemn; and when (in February) the Tories proposed a vote of censure, it was defeated only by 14 votes. The Parnellites voted with the Tories; they cared nothing for Egypt and nothing for the Soudan. But Ireland was still under the Crimes Act, and it was said that the Crimes Act was about to be renewed. On the other hand, Lord R. Churchill had assured Mr. Parnell that the Tories would have nothing to do with Coercion, and if they had he would oppose them. For this reason both Tories and Parnellites went into the lobby against the Government.[1] Three months later they again assailed the Ministry on the Consolidated Fund Bill, but again they were defeated, this time by a majority of 30 votes.[2]

In June the attack was renewed, and on this occasion—it was the 8th of June—the combination of Tories and Parnellites brought down their great opponent, Mr. Gladstone. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Childers, in his budget for the year had increased the duty on spirits and beer. From the Tory side, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach proposed an amendment, which was a direct negative, and Mr. Gladstone declared that by the vote to be given the Government would stand or fall. In the previous month Lord Carlingford, on the part of the Ministry, stated in the House of Lords that it was proposed to renew the Crimes Act.[3] This finally determined the Parnellites to throw in their lot with the Tories. The consequence was that on the amendment of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Parnell and all his followers went into the Tory lobby, and the Liberals were beaten by 12 votes, 264 being in the majority and 252 on the other side.[4] There was the wildest jubilation among the victors. Lord R. Churchill was especially demonstrative, and, jumping on his seat, waved his hat and cheered wildly like a schoolboy at play. Mr. Gladstone at once resigned, and after a short interval Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister; Lord R. Churchill, Secretary for India; and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons. Thus fell the Liberal Government, which had employed Forster and sustained Lord Spencer, which had suppressed free speech in Ireland, imprisoned without trial, and sent not a few innocent Irishmen to the dungeon and to the scaffold. And the Irish members of Parliament were specially pleased that it was *their* votes which had given the Coercionist Government its death-blow.

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 29-36.

[2] Hansard, ccxcviii. 274.

[3] *Ibid.* 568.

[4] *Ibid.* 1421-1511.

CHAPTER XIV

Gladstone and Home Rule

THE substitution of a Tory for a Liberal Government suited Mr. Parnell well. Lord Randolph Churchill was his friend and the enemy of Coercion, and it soon appeared that the Irish policy of the young Lord had the approval of his colleagues. In the House of Lords the Viceroy, Lord Carnarvon, defined, with the authority of the Premier, the attitude of the Government towards Ireland. Deprecating Coercion except to meet exceptional agrarian crime, he noted that there was no such exceptional crime then. There was therefore no need to renew the Crimes Act even in part. He preferred to trust the Irish people, and believed that his trust in them would not be misplaced.[1] When he went to Ireland he walked the streets of Dublin unaccompanied by a single policeman, in striking contrast to Lord Spencer, who never went abroad without a strong armed escort. The Government also granted an inquiry into the case of those convicted for the Maamtrasna murders.[2] It was nothing more than a fresh review of the evidence of the Lord-Lieutenant, and resulted in an approval of the verdict given by the jury. But even this inquiry gave satisfaction in Ireland, and was fiercely assailed in the House of Commons by the late Liberal Home Secretary, Sir William Harcourt. Lord Randolph Churchill replied to him in language of scathing severity. He contrasted the calm tone and temper shown by Mr. Parnell, who had demanded the inquiry, with the language of vehemence and passion used by the Liberal spokesman; repudiated the notion that the Tory Government assumed responsibility for the blunders of their predecessors; and declared that for himself he had no confidence in Lord Spencer and no approval for his Irish administration.

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[1] Hansard, ccxcviii. 1658-62.

[2] *Ibid.* ccxcix. 1065-1150.

The delighted Parnellites received this speech with enthusiasm, and were well satisfied with Lord Carnarvon. And their satisfaction was all the greater because the Tory Government were just then engaged in passing a Land Purchase Act for Ireland. Introduced into the House of Lords by the Irish Lord Chancellor, Lord Ashbourne, it came to be called the Ashbourne Act, and provided a sum of £5,000,000 for advances to tenants who wished to purchase their holdings. For the first time the whole of the purchase money was granted, to be paid back—interest and principal—at 4 per cent within a period of forty-nine years.[1] With the approval of Liberals and Tories, the Bill rapidly passed through its several stages, and proved to be a real boon to Ireland, the pioneer of many other Land Purchase Acts.

Shortly after its passage in the middle of August, the last session of the Parliament elected in 1880 came to an end. By an arrangement between the Liberal and Tory leaders, the dissolution was fixed for the following November. The Tory Government, indeed, was spoken of as a Government of caretakers, merely holding office till the result of the pending General Election was known. What that result might be largely depended on Mr. Parnell, and politicians of all shades watched him keenly. The Irish voters in Great Britain were organized, and in many cases could turn the scale between Liberal and Tory at the polls. They would be guided by Parnell, and there were certainly strong reasons why he should advise them to vote with the Tories. Under the influence of Lord Churchill they had dropped Coercion and passed a Land Purchase Act, and they might go much further under the same influence. But there was more than this. In the end of July, Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Parnell met in private and exchanged views about Home Rule. The controversy which subsequently arose disclosed some points of difference between the parties to the interview as to what passed between them. But there could be and was no denial of the fact that Lord Carnarvon sought an interview with Mr. Justin MacCarthy, to whom he declared that he was in favour of Home Rule for Ireland on Colonial lines, though he believed he would have some difficulty in getting the members of the Cabinet to agree with him. It is of little importance that in his subsequent interview with Mr. Parnell, in an untenanted house in London, he made it clear that he spoke only for himself and was entering into no treaty or bargain. He did not and could not say that he was authorized by the Ministry to promise Home Rule; but he was the Irish Viceroy, and not likely to hold such an interview without some authority; and in point of fact he did consult Lord Salisbury beforehand, and reported to him the result of the interview. Nor was there any material difference between Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Parnell on the main question of Home Rule. Both agreed that Ireland should have a central legislative body, "a Parliament in name and in fact," with full control over purely local matters, with power even to protect Irish industries against English and foreign competition.[1] With Lord Carnarvon these were no novel convictions. He had filled the office of Colonial Secretary, and had been struck with the success of self-government in the Colonies—their contentment, their prosperity, their loyalty. Since 1874 he had at intervals discussed Irish Home Rule with Sir Charles Gavan Duffy; and in February 1885 he had sent to the *National Review* an article of Duffy's appealing to the Tories to take up the Irish question and settle it. Under pressure from Duffy and of the Irish Under Secretary, Sir Robert Hamilton, a determined Home Ruler, Carnarvon's Home Rule convictions were strengthened, and after his interview with Parnell he urged his own views on the Cabinet. He failed to convince them. Not that they had any special dread of the danger of Home Rule to the Empire; but they feared that taking it up might injure them at the polls. They would lose more in Great Britain than they would gain in Ireland. It does not appear that Parnell knew of the refusal of the Cabinet; he only knew that Carnarvon was a convinced Home Ruler, and would probably carry his colleagues with him if the Tories were returned to power, and especially if they were returned by Irish votes.

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[1] Hansard, ccxcix. 1040-49.

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[1] O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 51-57.

From the Liberals he could hardly expect so much. In July, at a banquet given to Lord Spencer, Mr. John Bright denounced the Irish members of Parliament as disloyal to the Crown and hostile to Great Britain, and charged them with being in sympathy with criminals and murderers.[1] The speech was cheered by the Liberal members present, and was fully endorsed by Lord Hartington. It is true that the Radical leaders, Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke, had absented themselves from the Spencer Banquet, that both had been opponents of Coercion, and that Mr. Chamberlain had vigorously denounced Dublin Castle as an anachronism, and the condition of Ireland under a bureaucratic system of government as that of Poland under Russian or Venice under Austrian rule. But he would go no further than setting up representative County Government, supplemented by a central National Council. This Council was to be mainly elective and wholly executive, with power only to make by-laws, and at every turn was to be hampered, controlled, criticized by the British Parliament. When this scheme was brought before the Liberal Cabinet early in 1885 it was rejected, though it was supported by Gladstone, and would have then been accepted by Parnell.[2] The demands of the latter rose since his interview with Lord Carnarvon. He would no longer be satisfied with a mere National Council without legislative power. And for this reason he discountenanced a proposed public visit to Ireland of Chamberlain and Dilke in the autumn.

As for Mr. Gladstone, he was vague. If he declared for Home Rule before the General Election he would certainly lose the support of Lord Hartington and the Whigs, and also perhaps of Mr. Chamberlain; and great as his personal popularity in the country was, such a defection would be disastrous. On the other hand, he thought there was some secret understanding between the Tories and Parnellites, and he disliked having the Tories more liberal than the Liberals, and wished to compete with them for Irish support.

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[1] Hansard, ccc. 250-305.

[2] O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 135-7.

This was the state of things when Parnell, on the 24th of August, in a speech at Dublin, opened the electoral campaign. No man could speak plainer when he wished, and he wished to make it clear both to Tories and Liberals on what terms Irish votes could be obtained. The time had come, he said, when the Irish platform was to be reduced to a single plank, and that was an Irish Parliament with an Irish executive dependent on it. All other questions were subsidiary to this, indeed had better remain for settlement in an Irish Parliament.[1]

The Irish National Press applauded the speech; the British Press of all shades vigorously condemned it; and Lord Hartington, on the 29th of the same month, told Parnell that he had gone too far and that all England would unite to defeat "so foolish and mischievous a proposal."[2] Mr. Chamberlain (at Warrington, 8th September) was not less emphatic. "If these," he said, "are the terms on which Mr. Parnell's support is to be obtained, I will not enter into the compact. . . . If this claim were conceded, we might as well for ever abandon the hope of maintaining a United Kingdom, and we should establish within thirty miles of our shores a new foreign country, animated from outside with unfriendly intentions towards ourselves." Unlike Lord Hartington, however, Mr. Chamberlain favoured giving to Ireland as generous a measure of self-government as he would give to England or Scotland.[3] Lord Randolph Churchill, unwilling to concede Home Rule, but equally unwilling to offend his Irish friends, said nothing definite.[4] For the same reason Lord Salisbury, at Newport, on the 7th of October, was studiously vague. He thought the first policy of a Tory Government with regard to Ireland "must undoubtedly be to maintain the integrity of the

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 143-4. [2] *Ibid.* 146-7. [3] *Ibid.* 152.
[4] *Ibid.* 150-51.

Empire." But he did not say he was opposed to Home Rule in any shape; he did not attack Mr. Parnell for the demands he was making; he defended the abandonment of the Crimes Act; and he spoke lightly of boycotting as "depending on the passing humour of the population."[1] Alone among prominent men, Mr. John Morley advocated Home Rule "as in Canada," and thought the time was come when Ireland could no longer be governed either by landlords or priests.[2]

Mr. Gladstone was slow to speak. He had, in fact, been unwell, and had taken a voyage to Norway for the benefit of his health.[3] But he had been thinking about Ireland even in Norwegian waters; he disliked Lord Hartington's attack on Parnell, while disapproving of Parnell's proposals; and he was convinced that the question of Home Rule had now come within the region of practical politics, and must at least be examined in the hope of finding some solution. In this frame of mind he issued on the 16th of September a long manifesto to the electors. It covered much ground. "The Whigs," said Mr. Morley, "found it vague, the Radicals cautious, the Tories crafty, but everybody admitted that it tended to heal feuds."[4] When he touched the Irish question he neither agreed with Parnell nor condemned him. "In my opinion," he said, "not now for the first time delivered, the limit is clear within which any desires of Ireland, constitutionally ascertained, may, and beyond which they cannot, receive the assent of Parliament. To maintain the supremacy of the Crown, the unity of the Empire, and all the authority of Parliament necessary for the conservation of that unity, is the first duty of every representative of the people. Subject to this governing principle, every grant to portions of the country of enlarged powers is, in my view, not a source of danger but a means of averting it, and is in the nature of a new guarantee for increased cohesion, happiness and strength." And on the question of the maintenance of the Union, he added: "I believe history and posterity will consign to disgrace the name and memory of every man, be he who he may, and on whichever side of the Channel he may dwell, that, having the power to aid in an equitable settlement between Ireland and Great Britain, shall use that power not to aid but to prevent or to retard it. If the duty of working for this end cannot be doubted, then I trust that, on the one hand, Ireland will remember that she is subject to the authority of reason and justice, and cannot always plead the wrongs of other days in bar of submission to them; and that the two sister kingdoms, aware of their overwhelming strength, will dismiss every fear except that of doing wrong, and will make yet another effort to complete a reconciling work which has already done so much to redeem the past, and which, when completed, will yet more redound to the honour of our legislation and our race."[1]

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[1] *Annual Register*, p. 168.

[2] *Ibid.* 154.

[3] Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 457-8.

[4] *Ibid.* 460.

The conviction that Mr. Gladstone was nearing Home Rule was intensified when his special friend, Mr. Childers, the ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer, declared on the 12th of October at Pontefract that he would himself be willing to give Ireland Home Rule. He would leave her to legislate for herself, with control of police and the judiciary, reserving Imperial rights over foreign policy, military organization, external trade, the Post Office, the currency, coinage, the National Debt and the Court of Ultimate Appeal.[2] Importance was attached to this speech because of Mr. Childers's personal relations with Mr. Gladstone, and in point of fact Mr. Gladstone had been consulted beforehand, and told his friend that he had a "decided sympathy with the general scope and spirit of your proposed declaration about Ireland."[3] In public he did not go so far. He was friendly, but vague, ready to grant Ireland the fullest measure of local government, but not ready to declare openly for Home Rule, still less to formulate any Home Rule scheme. Mr. Parnell was disappointed. He knew how far Lord Carnarvon would go, and wanted to see if Gladstone and the Liberals would go further. For he was quite prepared to throw his influence on the side which gave the largest concessions. But Gladstone was not to be drawn. He had to keep his party together, and instead of formulating a Home Rule scheme, he pleaded on the platform for such a majority as would enable the Liberals to settle the Irish question independent of the Irish members. This was just what Mr. Parnell was determined he should not have. Further, he satisfied himself that with the opposition of Lord Hartington, and probably also of Mr. Chamberlain, the Liberal leader would not be able to go so far as the Tories. In this belief Mr. Parnell issued a manifesto advising the Irish voters in Great Britain to support the Tories at the polls.

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 157-8.

[2] *Ibid.* 171.

[3] Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 475-6.

Certainly the language of this manifesto lacked nothing in vigour. The Irish voters were asked to vote everywhere against "the men who coerced Ireland, deluged Egypt with blood, menaced religious liberty in the school, the freedom of speech in Parliament, and promised to the country generally a repetition of the crimes and follies of the last Liberal Administration. The specious demand for a majority against the Irish Party is an appeal for power to crush all Anti-Radical members in Parliament first; then to propose to Ireland some scheme doomed to failure, because of its unsuitability to the wants of the Irish people; and finally to force down a halting measure of self-government upon the Irish people, by the same methods of wholesale imprisonment by which durability was sought for the impracticable Land Act of 1881."[1]

The exciting contest on which so much depended was soon over. The Tories numbered just 249, the Liberals 335, the Home Rulers 86. Neither of the two great English parties was satisfied. The Tories hoped, by the aid of the Irish vote, to have such a number as would enable them to form a Government. The Liberals, having passed a great measure of enfranchisement, expected that the newly enfranchised would have flocked to their standards, and that a sweeping Liberal victory and the all but annihilation of the Tories would be the result. The Irish alone had done well. In Munster, Leinster and Connaught they had literally swept the board. Trinity College continued to return Tories; but Trinity College had no representative capacity, and its verdict carried no weight. Everywhere else in Leinster the Tories went down. In several instances the Home Rulers had been returned unopposed, their opponents being afraid to provoke a contest. Where contests had taken place the Home Rulers outnumbered their opponents by more than ten to one. In South Mayo the numbers were 4900 to 75; in West Mayo 4790 to 131; in East Kerry 3169 to 30; in many other cases the disparity between Home Rulers and Anti-Home Rulers was nearly as great. Nor was this all. Even in Ulster, hitherto the stronghold of landlord ascendancy and religious bigotry, the Home Rulers had a majority. Of its 33 members, 17 were pledged supporters of Parnell; Derry and West Belfast had all but been captured. Mr. Healy had been returned for South Derry; Mr. William O'Brien for South Tyrone. This result was all the more remarkable in face of the notorious jerrymandering of many seats. Under the new arrangement of single-member constituencies, set up by the Redistribution Act, commissioners had been appointed to fix the boundaries, and they had often done so in a partizan fashion, so as to defeat the Home Rulers. And yet Ulster had gone over to Parnell, and a majority of its members had agreed, as had all others elected on the Home Rule ticket, to sit, act and vote with the Irish Party; the violation of this pledge entailing instant resignation as a punishment.

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 180-81.

In all, 85 out of the 103 Irish members were followers of Mr. Parnell. Mr. T. P. O'Connor had also been returned for the Scotland Road division of Liverpool, thus making the Parnellites 86. There were 18 Irish Tories, but not one single Liberal had been elected in Ireland. Equally significant was the fact that 22 of the Home Rulers elected had been imprisoned by Mr. Forster.[1]

In the meantime one noted event had taken place in Ireland, not connected with the General Election, but of sufficient importance to excite national interest. In February, Cardinal MacCabe, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, died. He had been the nominee of Cardinal Cullen, and was quite as much out of sympathy with Irish popular movements. Two names were specially mentioned for the high office which he had filled—Dr. Walsh, the President of Maynooth College, and Dr. Moran, the Archbishop of Sydney. Dr. Walsh was well known to hold popular views and to be possessed of a manly and fearless spirit. Dr. Moran, who was a nephew of Cardinal Cullen, was believed to share his uncle's views on public questions, and was therefore favoured by the British influence at Rome. Mr. Errington, a sort of unofficial British envoy at the Vatican, was specially busy in the work of intrigue, and assured Lord Granville in May that he was keeping "the Vatican in humour,"[1] and was evidently hoping to keep Dr. Walsh out, though the latter was the almost unanimous selection of the priests of Dublin. For months the Archbishopric remained undecided. A change of Government brought no change; for the Tories, quite as much as the Liberals, were anxious that British influence should prevail. But in August Mr. William O'Brien somehow got possession of Mr. Errington's letter of May to Lord Granville, and published it in *United Ireland.* The result was that intrigues ceased, and forthwith Dr. Walsh was appointed Archbishop of Dublin. That his learning and ability were enormous—far greater than that of any who had ever filled the See of Dublin—was well known. But the extraordinary outburst of enthusiasm that hailed his appointment was due not so much to this as to the fact that he had to combat British intrigue. Nor did the English Government do justice to his opponent when they supposed him to be an enemy to Irish national aspirations. He has, on the contrary, shown himself to be a pronounced advocate of Home Rule. And in the field of Irish historical research Dr. Moran has done work that will endure. Altogether he is a commanding figure in the Catholic Church, an Irish-born Cardinal who

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[1] *Parnell Movement*, pp. 272-3.

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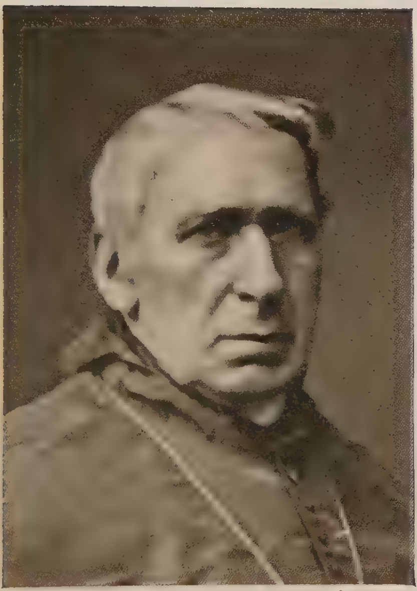
[1] O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 27.



Lawrence.

DR. MAC HALE
Archbishop of Tuam

Lawrence.

DR. WALSH
Archbishop of Dublin

Chancellor.

DR. HEALY
Archbishop of Tuam

Lawrence.

DR. CROKE
Archbishop of Cashel

has brought to a far-off land the highest qualities of scholarship and religious zeal.

In August Dr. Walsh returned from Rome to Ireland as Archbishop; before the end of December the General Election was over, and when the new year dawned the air was thick with rumours as to what the immediate future would bring. It was evident that the Tories could not continue in office. At the head of a strong party it is probable that Lord Churchill and his colleagues would have brought in a Home Rule measure acceptable to the Irish party. But being only 250 in number, they were not strong enough to discard the Orangemen, and the Orangemen would never consent to Home Rule. "I have done my best for you," said Lord Churchill to the Irish leaders, "and have failed; and now, of course, I'll do my best against you."[1] What that meant soon appeared. Lord Carnarvon and the Chief Secretary resigned and were replaced by Lord Londonderry, the descendant of Castlereagh, and by Mr. W. H. Smith, one of the most anti-Irish of the Tories. Concurrently with these changes there were many Tory speeches describing Ireland as in a state of lawlessness; and in January, when Parliament opened, the Queen's Speech declared emphatically against Home Rule and called for further powers of repression. A little later a Bill was promised to suppress the National League.[2] A Government with such a policy was not to be maintained in office by Irish votes, and when Mr. Jesse Collings moved an amendment to the Address in favour of small holdings for agricultural labourers he was supported by Liberals and Irish. A few Whigs, led by Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen, voted with the Tories, but the Liberals and Irish carried the day, and by 329 to 259 votes the Tories were driven from office.[3]

Mr. Gladstone then became Prime Minister. His subsequent attitude on the Irish question was often described by his opponents as unworthy of him. It was said that his acceptance of Home Rule was due to his anxiety to return to office, that his conversion was not the result of conviction, and was as sudden as that of Saul of Tarsus. But this is an unfair statement of the case. As far back as 1882 he favoured local government for Ireland, pointing out to Mr. Forster that "until we have seriously responsible bodies to deal with us in Ireland, every plan we frame comes to Irishmen as an English plan, and as such is probably condemned."[1] For the time Mr. Forster's obstinacy blocked the path of reform, and the Phœnix Park murders turned the public mind from concession to coercion. But Mr. Gladstone eagerly waited for the calm which was to follow the storm, and in May 1885 he proposed for Ireland a "central Board of Local Government on something of an elective basis,"[2] a plan which had the merit of being acceptable both to Mr. Parnell and Mr. Chamberlain. It was not, however, acceptable to all Mr. Gladstone's colleagues in the Cabinet, and was therefore dropped. The proposed scheme was not the same as setting up an Irish Parliament, but it might in time develop into such; and Mr. Gladstone was certain that the rejection of the smaller measure would lead only to larger demands being made by Ireland. Carefully guarding himself against acceptance or rejection of such possible demands, he waited for the result of the General Election. Hitherto Home Rule had been asked by a minority of Irish members—an active and able minority no doubt, but yet a minority. It stood on a different footing when it was asked by five-sixths of the Irish representatives. As a constitutional leader Mr. Gladstone saw that a crisis had come, that Home Rule had become a living reality in the field of practical politics, and could no longer be ignored. That he was not anxious for power or personal triumph was evident from the fact that he desired the Tories would settle the question, promising them his support. Lord Salisbury could then ignore the Orangemen. Mr. Gladstone could ignore the Whigs, and a moderate measure of Home Rule could be passed, acceptable to all reasonable Irishmen, though not necessarily acceptable to the extreme Irish demand. The Tory leaders, however, rejected these proposals, and then, and only then, did Mr. Gladstone drive the Tories out, and accepted office with the object of settling the Irish question on lines acceptable to Mr. Parnell.[1]

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[1] *Parnell Movement*, p. 274. [2] *Annual Register*, pp. 12, 25.
[3] *Ibid.* 32.

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[1] Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 298.

[2] *Ibid.* 431.

His task was one of extreme difficulty. Lord Hartington would have no Home Rule, would not even consider the question with the object of discovering some solution;[2] and though on Mr. Collings's amendment his strength was but eighteen, it would probably be greater as an opponent of Home Rule. Mr. Goschen shared Lord Hartington's views, as did the eminent Liberal lawyer, Sir Henry James. Mr. Chamberlain was willing to go further than these, but unwilling to set up an Irish legislative assembly. With the instinct of the trader he could only deal with hard facts, and rather as a shopkeeper than as a statesman. Businesslike, unsympathetic, unimaginative, he took no account of sentiment, of tradition, of national pride. The associations in the mind of Ireland with her lost Parliament, the wit of Curran, the statesmanship of Flood, the eloquence of Plunkett, the genius of Grattan appealed to him not at all. With the haughty exclusiveness of an Imperialist, he would only concede a Board or Council with power to deal with roads and bridges and water and gas, and professed to see danger to his own country in conceding an Irish Parliament, though its powers should be limited and circumscribed and it should be entirely subordinate to the Imperial Parliament. He was willing, however, to examine the Irish question, and took office, though he was not sanguine that Mr. Parnell's demand could be conceded without sacrificing the unity of the Empire.[3]

Mr. Trevelyan also took office, but like Mr. Chamberlain was hesitating and timorous. But Lord Granville, Lord Ripon, Lord Rosebery, Lord Aberdeen, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman and Sir William Harcourt took office without hesitation and without making conditions. So also did the great lawyer, Sir Charles Russell. And Lord Spencer pronounced unequivocally for Home

[1] Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 499-500; *Churchill's Life*, ii. 29-31.

[2] Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 533-4.

[3] *Ibid.* 534-5.

Rule. He had administered coercion in Ireland with vigour and without fear, but experience had taught him that its use was at best but temporary, and that generous concessions were a surer and safer remedy for Irish ills.[1] In the new Cabinet also was Mr. John Morley, who took the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland. As journalist and author he was already well known, and though not long in Parliament had already made his mark as a speaker. His speeches were characterized by that literary charm which marks his writings, and on the platform and in Parliament his finished sentences fell pleasantly on the ear. Manly, outspoken, courageous, a man of deep thought and strong conviction, he thought out political problems for himself, and arrived at his own conclusions; and while the Tories were yet in office he declared boldly for Home Rule. Such were the men who formed Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, and who, during the months of February and March, endeavoured to elaborate a Home Rule Bill and a Land Purchase Bill for Ireland.[2]

While this work was proceeding, Mr. W. E. Forster died, and thus disappeared one determined enemy of Home Rule. There was a deep pathos in such an ending to such a career. No other Chief Secretary in modern times had so deeply roused Irish passion. The memory of Buckshot Forster was execrated little less than that of Cromwell. Jails filled, free speech denied, newspapers and meetings suppressed, constitutional rights denied—these were the fruits of his rule. And while the innocent was often punished, murder was unpunished, and the murderers were free and even unknown. Ignoring the healing effects of concession on a disturbed Ireland, his cry was for more coercion. He wanted the Crimes Act renewed in 1885, and was reluctant about conceding Mr. Chamberlain's Central Board,[3] and when Mr. Gladstone went beyond this in 1886, Forster held up his hands in horror, for now surely the dismemberment of the Empire was at hand.[4]

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[1] Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 537.

[2] *Annual Register*, pp. 36-37; Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 537.

[3] Reid's *Life of Forster*, ii. 508.

[4] *Ibid.* 553-4.

And yet the man's heart was kind and he really loved Ireland. In 1847 he had helped the starving Irish peasants, and in March 1886 one of the last acts of his life was to send a subscription to Ireland to relieve distress on the desolate island of Innisboffin.[1]

On the 8th of April Mr. Gladstone introduced his Home Rule Bill amid scenes such as had rarely been witnessed at Westminster. At break of day members hurried to the House of Commons to secure seats; at eleven o'clock scarcely a single seat was vacant; and when Mr. Gladstone entered the House after four o'clock many members, unable to get other accommodation, occupied chairs on the floor of the House. Outside in the lobbies knots gathered to discuss the political situation and speculate as to what the immediate future would reveal. The galleries were all filled. Peers, peeresses, prelates, princes of the blood, ambassadors of foreign powers, rank and station and beauty and learning looked down with eagerness on the historic scene. As Mr. Gladstone entered he was greeted with enthusiastic cheers from the Liberal and Irish benches. He rose at half-past four, and for three hours and a half he unfolded his scheme. The extent of ground to be covered, the vast interests involved, the complexity of detail called rather for exposition than for eloquence; and Mr. Gladstone could of all men clearly expound. But eloquence and argument also were not wanting. The long march of historic events, the centuries of oppression on the one hand and of suffering on the other, the confiscations and plantations which make up so much of Irish history, and which tell of Ireland's martyrdom and of England's shame, were all familiar to the orator, and stirred him to eloquent outbursts. His exquisite voice, flexible in the highest degree, rose in declamation or sank in appeal as he denounced the infamy of the Act of Union, or pleaded for justice and fair-play for a long-tried and sorely-oppressed land. Reminding his hearers that the Union had been followed by coercion rather than by equal laws, he recalled how even concessions being too long delayed had been robbed of grace and healing effect. England, he said, had taken no account of Irish ideas, Irish feelings, Irish prejudices ; her wants and wishes had not been consulted by Parliament ; and law had always been suspected by Ireland because it had come clothed in a foreign garb. He could see no alternative to Home Rule but drastic coercion ; no incongruity in conceding to Ireland the demands of five-sixths of her representatives ; no national danger but rather national security in the extension and enlargement of local powers ; and nothing in his proposals inconsistent with the unity of the Empire or the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. He instanced the cases of Austria and Hungary, of Norway and Sweden, and of many of the British colonies to show that Home Rule had worked well, and he believed that in Ireland also similar happy results would follow. New powers and responsibilities would bring steadiness and sobriety and contentment ; loyalty would replace disloyalty and discontent ; old wounds would be healed ; the strife of centuries would be closed, and bitter memories would be for ever exorcised.[1]

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[1] *Life*, ii. 559.

The proposed Irish Assembly would consist of two orders. The lower order, consisting of 206 members, would be elected for five years on the existing Parliamentary franchise. The upper order, consisting of 103 members—28 representative Irish peers and 75 others, with a property qualification of £200 a year—would be elected for ten years by those rated at £25 a year. Both orders would ordinarily sit and vote together ; but they might deliberate separately, and if while doing so they disagreed as to any Bill, a temporary veto was the result. Irish members would no longer sit at Westminster. The Viceroy representing the Sovereign would not be a party man, ceasing to hold office with the party who appointed him. He could assent to and veto Bills, and summon and dissolve Parliament ; nor could the Irish Parliament curtail his powers. The Irish executive would be responsible to the Irish Parliament, and judges would be appointed for life as in England. Reserved to the Imperial Parliament were the imposition and collection of customs and excise duties, all questions of peace and war, foreign relations, trade, navigation and copyright, and control over the sea and land forces and national defences. Nor could the Irish Parliament endow any religion or impose any incapacity because of religious belief, nor could it have control over the police until some years had elapsed. Revising the fiscal arrangement settled in 1817, Ireland's contribution to the Imperial Exchequer would henceforth be one-fifteenth; this arrangement to last for thirty years, after which it might be revised. The Irish Government would also take over all loans due to the British Treasury which had been advanced for Irish purposes, but was to be handed over the balance of the Irish Church Surplus.[1]

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[1] Hansard, ccciv.

Supplementary to the Home Rule Bill was the Irish Land Purchase Bill, which Mr. Gladstone introduced on the 16th of April. The House of Lords, being a House of landlords and always specially partial to Irish landlordism, would never assent to Home Rule if Irish landlords were to be left to the mercy of an Irish Parliament. But if the Irish landlords were bought out at a high figure the Lords' assent to Home Rule would be the more readily obtained. This was Mr. Gladstone's hope, and it was for this reason he brought in his Land Purchase Bill. It provided for the buying out by the State of all landlords who wished to sell. The price, which was to be fixed by the Land Courts, was estimated at twenty years' purchase of the net rent, and would be advanced by the British Treasury and repayable by the tenants—principal and interest—in forty-nine years, at 4 per cent of the purchase money. A British official, called a Receiver-General, was to be appointed, whose duty it would be to transmit the rent-charge and all other items of revenue payable from Ireland to the British Treasury. But he would be merely an executive officer, and would have no power to levy any tax.[2]

Both the Home Rule and Land Purchase Bills passed their first reading without a division; but neither was received with enthusiasm and neither escaped hostile criticism. Mr. Parnell, whom Mr. Gladstone had so fiercely denounced in 1881, had special reasons for being elated, but even he was cautious and critical. He disliked the Land Purchase Bill; he disliked the provisions about the control of the police; he wanted power to protect Irish industries; and he fought hard with Mr. Gladstone before the Home Rule Bill was introduced to have the contribution from Ireland to the Imperial Exchequer fixed at a twentieth rather than a fifteenth, firmly convinced that the latter was too high. He hoped that on these points concessions would be made in Committee, and it was at least possible that if such were to be refused he would wreck the Bill.[1]

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[1] *Parnell Movement*, pp. 275-80; Pamphlet by Sydney Buxton, *Mr. Gladstone's Irish Bills.*

[2] *Parnell Movement*, pp. 280-82; Hansard, ccciv. 1778-1810.

The Orangemen were specially enraged, protesting against the infamy of handing over the loyal Protestants of Ireland to rebels and traitors.[2] The better to rouse them to fury, Lord Randolph Churchill went to Belfast, and in language of reckless violence urged on the Ulstermen to resist, predicting that if ever Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill became law, "Ulster would fight and Ulster would be right." These fiery incitements applied to such inflammable material helped to stir up disorder and riots in Belfast, resulting in the loss of many lives. A Government note-taker was sent to report the noble Lord's speeches, which Mr. Morley described as full of contingent sedition;[3] and when the late ally of the Irish Party found that even a Tory lord could not defy the law with impunity he fled to England. He was on safer ground in the House of Commons, and described the Home Rule Bill as a mass of contradictions and absurdities.[4] Sir M. Hicks-Beach believed that the Bill would in no way be a final settlement.[5] Lord Salisbury was equally strong, declaring that there was no middle term between government at Westminster and independent and entirely separate government at Dublin.[6] And the Tory newspapers, from the *Times* down, approved of and adopted the language of Lord Salisbury. But it was from the Liberal ranks that the most damaging criticisms came. That Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen should oppose Home Rule was to be expected, and it excited no surprise when they appeared on the same platform with Lord Salisbury and Mr. W. H. Smith in opposition to Mr. Gladstone's Bill. And both vigorously denounced it on its first reading in the House of Commons.[1] Mr. Trevelyan and Mr. Chamberlain were on different ground. They had taken office under Mr. Gladstone. They were not indeed enthusiastic supporters, and as they failed in the Cabinet to mould Mr. Gladstone's scheme in accordance with their own views, they resigned. They resigned before the Home Rule Bill was introduced, and on its first reading they vigorously assailed it. Mr. Trevelyan, who spoke first,[2] objected to have the police, even for a time, independent of the Irish Government; he objected to the financial provisions; he objected to the attempted distinction between local and Imperial questions; and he objected to any scheme for buying out the Irish landlords. He was in favour of a large and generous measure of local government for Ireland, but he stopped short at a legislative assembly, which would give supreme power to Mr. Parnell and his followers. Mr. Chamberlain was an abler debater than Mr. Trevelyan and a far less scrupulous politician. He too was in favour of a large measure of local government for Ireland, he was even in favour of Federation, but he would not accept Mr. Gladstone's scheme. He objected to the exclusion of the Irish members from the Imperial Parliament; it would place them in a degrading position. He objected to the proposed fiscal arrangements. He objected to laying a heavy burden on the British taxpayer for the purpose of bribing Irish landlords. He believed that Mr. Gladstone's measure would only lead to further agitations and ill-feeling; and he declared his readiness to vote for total separation rather than vote for such a Bill.[3]

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[1] Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 546.

[2] Hansard, ccciv.: Speeches of Colonel Waring, Johnson, etc.

[3] Hansard, ccciv. 1268; *Churchill's Life*, ii. 60-65.

[4] *Annual Register*, p. 112. [5] *Ibid.* 118. [6] *Ibid.* 132.

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 131-3.

[2] Hansard, ccciv. 1104-24.

[3] *Ibid.* 1182-1207.

Had Mr. Gladstone consulted Mr. Chamberlain more frequently, had he deferred more to his views, had he rated his abilities higher, and, giving him the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer, made him the heir-apparent to the Liberal Premiership, it may be that the younger man's aversion to Home Rule would have been overcome and his opposition changed into support. But Mr. Gladstone disliked some of Mr. Chamberlain's Radical schemes and his manner of putting them before the public ; he did not rate his abilities as of the first order, and seems never to have regarded him as a possible Liberal Premier. Mr. Chamberlain, conscious of great powers, must have felt hurt at all this ; nor did any one assail both of Mr. Gladstone's Bills with such vehemence and passion. On the first reading of the Home Rule Bill his criticism was scathing and severe, and on the Land Purchase Bill he indulged in similar criticism. And passing from Parliament to the platform, he used every artifice of an unscrupulous politician to prejudice the public mind. Prodigal of prophecy, he foretold that Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill would lead to constant friction, to further agitation, to ultimate separation. It would set up, within thirty miles of the shores of Great Britain, an independent and hostile nation. And he said this in spite of the fact that Army and Navy, Militia and Volunteers were still to be exclusively under the control of the British Parliament. Though in favour of Land Purchase, and convinced, as his subsequent conduct proved, that it involved no danger to the State and imposed no burden on the British taxpayer, he predicted that the Irish tenants would repudiate their bargain and strike against the payment of rents ; and thus would the hard-earned money of British workmen be squandered on thriftless Irish landlords and dishonest Irish tenants. "Workmen of England and Scotland," he said, "where is your remedy? You will be Irish landlords ; you will have to evict the tenants ; you will have to collect your rents at the point of the bayonet ; and I refuse to be a party to such contingencies."[1]

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 158-60 ; O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 136 ; Hansard, cccvi.

Lesser men among the Liberals, such as Mr. Courtney and Mr. Caine, followed the lead of Mr. Chamberlain, though they were not so eloquent in speech nor unscrupulous in attack.[1] On more than one platform also Lord Hartington repeated the arguments he had used in the House of Commons; and Mr. Goschen, on the same side, surprised both friends and foes by the fire with which he spoke.[2] But though these speeches were not without effect and the Land Purchase Bill was everywhere coldly received, the Liberal associations throughout Great Britain were unwilling to desert Mr. Gladstone's army, even when Mr. Chamberlain sounded the bugle-call.[3] Much of this, no doubt, was due to the great personality of Mr. Gladstone; much to the fact that Irish opinion all over the world favoured his measures and even welcomed them with gratitude; much to the able speeches made by Sir William Harcourt and others in the House of Commons. And many were convinced by the thoughtful and reasoned arguments of Mr. Morley on public platforms; still more perhaps by the public speeches of Lord Spencer. His high character, his stainless honour, his manifest patriotism, his zeal for the public interests were everywhere recognized. Nor could the masses fail to be impressed when such a man, with his recent experiences in Ireland, declared that there was no alternative to Home Rule but Coercion, that he could see nothing in Mr. Gladstone's Bill involving separation or dismemberment, and that Home Rule, and that only, would bring contentment and peace.[4]

Mr. Gladstone's position was still further strengthened when he foreshadowed the abandonment of the Land Bill, warning the Irish landlords that the sands in the hour-glass were running out. And he declared further that his Home Rule Bill was not a cast-iron measure. It was open to amendment. Let his followers but vote for the second reading, and he would postpone the question until autumn, and then he would recast and reintroduce the Bill.[5]

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[1] *Annual Register*, p. 161. [2] *Ibid.* 157-8, 168-9. [3] *Ibid.* 165-6.

[4] *Ibid.* 151-4; Fitzmaurice's *Life of Lord Granville*, ii. 484-5.

[5] Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 572-4; *Annual Register*, pp. 194-6.

One great Englishman, Mr. John Bright, had hitherto kept silent, and men were specially anxious to know what were his views. The friend and comrade of Cobden, the eloquent advocate of every popular measure, the champion of freedom in every land, he commanded the passionate attachment of the English masses. And in Ireland his name was held dear. Her miseries and wrongs had touched his heart, her oppression by a stronger power had roused his anger ; he was her friend in dark days, when few Englishmen were her friends, and it would be strange if he deserted her now when his old friend, Mr. Gladstone, was opening to her the gates of freedom. But there are some men whose love of freedom grows cold with the advance of age, and signs were not wanting that Mr. Bright was one of these. Forgetting apparently that the Irish members were freely elected by Ireland and represented her views, he had conceived an unreasoning dislike for them, and had no better names for them than rebels and traitors. He could not believe them loyal, honourable or truthful, and told Mr. Gladstone, in the middle of May, that his policy of surrender to them would be disastrous both to Ireland and to Great Britain. He did not, however, favour Mr. Chamberlain's scheme of Federation ; and he was utterly opposed to the Land Purchase Bill.[1] A fortnight later, in spite of his deep personal attachment to Mr. Gladstone and his desire to agree with him, his views remained the same. He did not, indeed, think that an Irish Parliament would favour religious persecution, or separation, or a policy of public plunder ; and he heartily approved of the clause in the Home Rule Bill excluding the Irish members from Westminster. And yet he was opposed to the Home Rule and to the Land Purchase Bills. Out of respect for Mr. Gladstone he had hitherto held his tongue, but a few days later he declared publicly against his old friend. This was welcome news for Mr. Chamberlain, for it meant that Home Rule had received its death-blow.[2]

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[1] Morley, ii. 567-9.

[2] O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 146-52. See also the *Cornhill Magazine* for October 1908, and *Truth*, 14th October of the same year.

The second reading debate was then proceeding. It was opened by Mr. Gladstone in a speech, argumentative and conciliatory, in which he laid special emphasis on the fact that the only alternative to Home Rule was Coercion.[1] A little later this policy was boldly avowed outside Parliament by Lord Salisbury, who likened the Irish to Hottentots, and whose prescription for Ireland was twenty years of resolute government, meaning twenty years of continuous coercion. Meantime Lord Hartington had moved the rejection of the Home Rule Bill, having been followed on the same side by Sir Henry James, Mr. Goschen and Mr. Trevelyan, and by some of the Ulster members, the latter shrieking wildly that they were being betrayed.[2] On the other side important speeches were made by Mr. Bryce, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Charles Russell and Mr. Morley; while from the Irish benches Mr. William O'Brien spoke with admirable temper and convincing force.[3] And Mr. Stansfield made damaging use of Lord Salisbury's Hottentot speech, describing it as "excelling in calculated recklessness the wildest speech ever uttered by Nationalist or Orangeman."[4]

The long debate often dragged wearily, until the night of the 1st of June, when Mr. Chamberlain spoke. Knowing the popularity of Mr. Gladstone throughout the country, he was careful to make no attack on him; and knowing the feeling among the Liberal electors in favour of Home Rule, he declared his agreement with the principle, but not with Mr. Gladstone's scheme. He carefully avoided any reference to the alternative policy of Coercion, and seized on all the weak points of Mr. Gladstone's whole Irish policy with the skill and dexterity of a practised hand.[5] He was answered from the Liberal benches by Sir William Harcourt, and from the Irish by Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Dillon, Mr. T. P. O'Connor and Mr. Sexton. The speech of the latter was second only to Mr. Gladstone's, fully equal to Mr. Chamberlain's in debating power, and far beyond it in sustained eloquence.[1]

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[1] Hansard, cccv.

[2] *Ibid.* cccv.-cccvi.

[3] *Ibid.* cccv. 622-32.

[4] *Ibid.* 1178-9.

[5] *Ibid.* cccvi. 675-700.

On the 7th of June, the last night of the memorable debate, Mr. Parnell spoke, making what Mr. Morley described as a masterly speech—"not the mere dialectic of a party debate, but the utterance of a statesman. . . . As he dealt with Ulster, with finance, with the supremacy of Parliament, with the loyal minority, with the settlement of education in an Irish legislature—soberly, steadily, deliberately, with that full, familiar, deep insight into the facts of a country which is only possible to a man who belongs to it and has passed his life in it—the effect of Mr. Parnell's speech was to make even able disputants on either side look little better than amateurs."[2] This is remarkable testimony to Mr. Parnell's powers from so competent a critic, but whoever peruses the speech will readily admit its justice.

Sir M. Hicks-Beach wound up the debate for the Opposition, following Mr. Cowen, who made an extremely eloquent speech for the Bill; and then Mr. Gladstone rose, just as the clock tolled the midnight hour. His speech was worthy of the occasion and of the man. Avoiding petty recrimination and personal attack, it was marked by cogent reasoning, by persuasive argument, by solemn appeal. The interests of two nations long divided were at stake, the opportunity to close ancient feuds had come, and Mr. Gladstone, recalling the past and peering into the future, spoke less as an advocate than as a statesman. With his opponents he dealt not ungenerously. Mr. Chamberlain alone he treated with mocking contempt. That gentleman had avowed that he did not fear a dissolution; and Mr. Gladstone declared that he was not surprised, for Mr. Chamberlain had carefully trimmed his sails to catch every passing breeze. If his audience at an election favoured the Home Rule Bill then before Parliament, he could say that he had voted in favour of its principle. If they declared against it, he could point to his vote on the second reading. If they wanted a larger Bill, he could say he had declared for

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[1] Hansard, cccvi. 700-731.

[2] Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 557.

Elliott & Fry

W. E. FORSTER

Histed.

JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN

Stereoscopic.

LORD SPENCER

Elliott & Fry.

LORD MORLEY (John Morley)

Elliott & Fry.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL

Bassano.

SIR WILLIAM V. HARCOURT

Federation. If his audience thought the Bill went too far, he could say that the last of his own plans was for "four provincial circuits controlled from London."

Leaving Mr. Chamberlain and all his changing schemes, Mr. Gladstone took higher ground, closing with a peroration worthy of his palmiest days. "Ireland," he said, "stands at your bar expectant, hopeful, almost suppliant. Her words are the words of truth and soberness. She asks a blessed oblivion of the past, and in that oblivion our interest is deeper even than hers. You have been asked to-night to abide by the traditions of which we are the heirs. What traditions? By the Irish traditions? Go into the length and breadth of the world, ransack the literature of all countries, find if you can a single voice, a single book, in which the conduct of England towards Ireland is anywhere treated except with profound and bitter condemnation. Are these the traditions by which we are exhorted to stand? No, they are a sad exception to the glory of our country. They are a broad and black spot upon the pages of its history, and what we want to do is to stand by the traditions of which we are the heirs in all matters except our relations with Ireland, and to make our relations with Ireland to conform to the other traditions of our country. So we treat our traditions, so we hail the demand of Ireland for what I call a blessed oblivion of the past. She asks also a boon for the future, and that boon for the future, unless we are much mistaken, will be a boon to us in respect of honour, no less than a boon to her in respect of happiness, prosperity and peace. Such, sir, is her prayer. Think, I beseech you; think well, think wisely, think not for the moment but for the years that are to come, before you reject this Bill."[1]

The eloquent appeal was in vain. The curious combination of Tories and Whigs, of Birmingham Radicals and Ulster Orangemen, held firmly together, and only 313 voted for the Bill while 343 voted against it, thus having an adverse majority of 30. For the moment Mr. Chamberlain was triumphant, and the Home Rule banner was in the dust.

[1] Morley, ii. 579-80; Hansard, cccvi.

CHAPTER XV

The Unionist Government

AFTER the defeat of the Home Rule Bill some members of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet favoured resignation rather than dissolution. Their opponents would then be compelled to disclose their policy, and if they had nothing to offer as an alternative to Home Rule but Coercion, the alliance between Tories and dissentient Liberals would be short-lived. But Mr. Gladstone, who favoured dissolution, stated that he knew of no instance in which a Government defeated on a great national question failed to appeal from Parliament to the people. And if the Home Rule Government now deviated from well-established precedent, it would be said that they feared to face the people, and had themselves lost confidence in Home Rule. Mr. Gladstone's arguments were convincing as his authority was overwhelming, and Parliament was dissolved in the last week of June.[1]

The fight which followed was a fight of giants. Nor did Mr. Gladstone ever appear so great. Faced by powerful foes, deserted by friends who had long fought by his side, weighed down by the burden of seventy-six years, this wonderful old man, inspired by confidence and conviction, entered the lists with the courage and enthusiasm of youth. He had, it is true, many grounds for hope. The alternative Tory policy of Coercion was not popular. On the other hand, the prospect of a final settlement of the eternal Irish question, which had perplexed so many Parliaments and ruined so many Ministers, had its attraction for the electors;[1] and Mr. Gladstone could point to the fact that his Home Rule Bill was accepted by five-sixths of the Irish representatives and by the organs of Irish opinion throughout the world. The Irish vote in Great Britain would also be an important factor in the struggle, and as it had turned the scales in many constituencies in the previous year in favour of the Tories, it would now turn the scales for the Liberals.

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[1] Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 581-2.

Mr. Gladstone was further encouraged by the votes of confidence from so many Liberal associations, and was assured by Mr. Schnadhorst, the chief Liberal organizer, that the electors were in advance of their representatives, and that a General Election would mean victory for Home Rule. Mr. Gladstone had also confidence in himself, in his eloquence, his powers of persuasion, in the enthusiasm which he inspired; believing that if his opponents had with them "class and the dependents of class," the people's hearts were with him.[2]

Yet the strength of his opponents was indeed great, well calculated to strike even a great orator and statesman with dismay. "You have power," said Mr. Gladstone, "you have wealth, you have rank, you have station, you have organization, you have the place of power."[3] Nor did this formidable combination neglect any weapon which could be effectively employed. Argument, appeal, national pride, ancient prejudice, class hatred, selfish interests, social ostracism were all requisitioned. Home Rulers were blackballed in clubs and avoided in the streets. Great magnates ceased to ask them to their country-houses or include them in their dinner-parties. They were shunned in the racing-paddock and in the hunting-field. A lady specially asked that she should not be placed at dinner next to Lord Granville, who, being a Home Ruler, was a traitor to his country. And the occupant of a suburban villa could not believe that any of his neighbours were Home

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[1] *Life of Granville*, ii. 469. "The bribe to me, and I suspect to Great Britain, which would have most effect, would be to get rid of the Irish members from the House of Commons, into which they are introducing dry rot" (Granville to Lord Spencer, Dec. 1885).

[2] Hansard, cccvi. 1239.

[3] *Ibid.*

Rulers, because, if so, they could not be gentlemen.[1] The Press attacked Mr. Gladstone and his Home Rule policy with bitterness. The pulpit rang with denunciations of the man who had destroyed the Irish Church and who was now bent on destroying the British Empire. The General Assembly of the Irish Presbyterian Church and the General Synod of the Protestant Church joined hands in protesting against a Parliament at Dublin manned by rebels and traitors. Irish officials with big salaries and little work used all the influence they could command against the new policy. Ulster Orangemen breathed threats of civil war. Lord Randolph Churchill described the Home Rule Bill as one that might have come from Bedlam or Colney Hatch.[2] Mr. Bright openly proclaimed his opposition, and, blinded by prejudice against the Irish members, became the champion of Ulster bigotry. Lord Hartington put the Whig case without, however, being offensive to his great opponent. As for Mr. Chamberlain, his objections and alternative schemes followed each other with bewildering rapidity. And for the minor combatants no statement was too extravagant to make. Visions of popery enthroned on high, of an Ulster ablaze, of an Ireland in revolt against England were conjured up; and one Unionist orator claimed Mr. Gladstone's authority for the statement that the State purchase of the Irish landlords would add between three and four hundred millions to the National Debt.[3] The Unionist combination indeed was a strange one: the Whig and the Tory democrat, the Orangeman and the Radical, the Primrose dame and the Irish Presbyterian, the parson and the publican, the artisan from the slums of Birmingham and the plutocrat from Park Lane.

Like Napoleon after Leipsic, Mr. Gladstone had to lament the desertion of some of his comrades-in-arms. But not a few of the old comrades were with him still. Harcourt's debating power was of the greatest value; Morley was convincing, for he spoke out of deep conviction; Campbell-

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[1] Fitzmaurice's *Life of Lord Granville*, ii. 494-5.

[2] *Annual Register*, pp. 239-40.

[3] *The Parnell Movement*, pp. 284-7.

Bannerman was courageous; Bryce's knowledge of constitutional questions was profound; Spencer, driven from Coercion by bitter experience of its futility, carried great weight with the electors. But Gladstone himself, like Agamemnon, was king of men. His length of years, the splendour of his public services, the acknowledged supremacy of his talents, his incomparable eloquence, his world-wide knowledge raised him above his contemporaries, and beside him every man looked small. Men thronged to see him and hear him as something to be remembered in after years; they listened to him when they turned with contempt from the ablest of his contemporaries; they were fascinated by the man whom they considered, and with justice, the greatest ornament of their race. As he passed through the streets of Edinburgh or Glasgow, of Manchester or Liverpool, his progress was that of a conqueror. Nor had he any difficulty in dealing with the arguments of his opponents. In answer to the charge of Catholic bigotry, he pointed to Ireland under a Protestant leader, and reminded his hearers that every Irish Parliamentary leader had been a Protestant except O'Connell. To the demand that Ulster should have a separate legislative assembly, he pointed out that the ablest and the most trusted of the Ulster leaders, Major Saunderson, made no such claim. The objection that an Irish Parliament might endow the Catholic religion he met by pointing out that such was specially prohibited in his Home Rule Bill. He recalled how the Union was passed and what evils had followed, contrasting the poverty and discontent after 1800 with the progress and prosperity under Grattan's Parliament. He dealt effectively with Mr. Chamberlain's changing plans, his Federation Scheme, his Canadian Home Rule, his Provincial Councils, with his croaking prophecies and perverted history; and he often reminded his audience that the Tory alternative to Home Rule was twenty years of Coercion.[1] Finally, he refused to call the Liberal deserters Liberal Unionists, as they wished, but called them instead Dissentient Liberals, though the name Liberal Unionist was the more usual one used by the public.

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[1] *Speeches at Edinburgh and Glasgow*—pamphlets published by National Press Agency.

To meet the objections of those who were genuine Home Rulers but who objected to his Home Rule Bill, Mr. Gladstone was willing to concede something. But he obstinately clung to the clause excluding the Irish members from Westminster, and thus gave his critics some reason to say that Imperial unity was sacrificed. He also clung to the Land Bill, or at least showed no readiness to drop it, though it was disliked on every side. And there is no doubt that his obstinacy on these points lost him votes. There were Liberal voters also chagrined with the Irish for having so recently allied themselves with Tories and attacked the Liberals. And there were Liberal voters who thought that Home Rule was sprung upon them, who had not therefore time to understand the question, and who were not prepared to vote for it till they did. It was these timid and unconvinced voters who lost the election, for Mr. Gladstone was defeated chiefly by Liberals who abstained from voting. Nor was the defeat very decisive if we regard the number of votes polled rather than the number of members returned. In the constituencies contested the Unionist vote was 1,316,327, the Liberal 1,238,342, a difference of less than 80,000 out of more than 2,500,000 votes polled. Had the electoral system provided for proportional representation, the number of Unionists returned for these seats would be 209 against 198 Home Rulers, whereas the actual figures were 256 Unionists to 151 on the opposite side. In Ireland the numbers remained the same. Two of the ablest of the Irish party were defeated—Mr. Healy in South Derry, and Mr. O'Brien for South Tyrone—but these losses were counterbalanced by the return of Mr. Justin MacCarthy for the City of Derry and of Mr. Sexton for West Belfast. When the last returns had come in the Tories numbered 316, the Liberal Unionists 74, thus giving a majority of 110 against Home Rule. Mr. Chamberlain's adherents were not more than 12, the remainder of the Liberal Unionists following the lead of Lord Hartington.[1]

Mr. Parnell urged the defeated Ministers to cling to office on the ground that though Home Rule had been defeated, Liberalism rather than Conservatism had triumphed. But when Parliament met it was certain that an adverse vote on the Irish question would be taken, and then Ministers would have to go. And further, for the Home Rulers to cling to office, after having appealed to the country on a definite policy, and having been defeated, would be unprecedented.[2] Resignation was therefore resolved on, and when Parliament met in August, Lord Salisbury was again Premier; Sir M. Hicks-Beach, Chief Secretary for Ireland; Lord Londonderry, Lord-Lieutenant; Lord Randolph Churchill, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons. Lord Salisbury had urged Hartington to form a Ministry exclusively of Liberal Unionists, or partly of Liberal Unionists and partly of Tories, and in either case had promised to support him. But the Whig Leader thought he could best defeat Home Rule by remaining out of office, and Mr. Chamberlain agreed with him, and was content that henceforth Lord Hartington should be his leader.[3] This was a strange turn of events, remembering that but a short time before Mr. Chamberlain had called Lord Hartington Rip Van Winkle, and Sir Stafford Northcote, the Conservative leader, had called Mr. Chamberlain Jack Cade.

What was to be the Irish policy of the new Government? It could not be Coercion in face of the denunciation of Coercion by so many Unionist candidates during the elections. It could not be Land Purchase in face of the attacks made on Mr. Gladstone's Bill. It was not likely to be any large scheme of local government, for Lord Hartington had as little zeal in that direction as the most reactionary Tory. And it soon appeared that there was to be no measure of Land Reform. Irish affairs were then in a critical condition. So far only 90,000 agricultural tenants had been able to go into the Land Courts to avail themselves of the Act of 1881. Nearly as many more, mostly in arrears and therefore at the landlords' mercy, had settled out of Court, and at much less reduction than they would have obtained had they gone into Court. The remainder, numbering nearly 500,000, were in the same position as if the Act of 1881 had never been passed.[1] The prices of agricultural produce had recently fallen from 30 to 40 per cent, and a political economist of great weight, Sir James Caird, had declared publicly that from more than five-sixths of the Irish agriculturist holdings all economic rent had for the present disappeared.[2] In these circumstances Mr. Parnell, in September, introduced an amending Land Bill, providing that leaseholders, specially excluded from the Act of 1881, should now be admitted to its benefits; that judicial rents fixed before 1885 should be revised in the Land Courts, and that all evictions and ejectment processes should be stayed on payment of half the rent and arrears due, and until the inability of the tenant to pay was investigated in the Courts. Mr. Gladstone and the bulk of the Liberals supported the Bill. But the Government opposed it, denying Mr. Parnell's figures, and sceptical as to any fall in prices; and the Chief Secretary described Mr. Parnell's Bill as "an act of gross injustice and confiscation to the landlords of Ireland."[3] He could not, however, deny that the Irish tenants were not paying their rents, nor that the landlords were evicting them; nor could he deny that Kerry was overrun with Moonlighters and stained by crime, and that there was danger of other counties in a short time being similarly disturbed. All the Government did was to appoint a commission, under Lord Cowper as chairman, to inquire into the working of the Irish Land Acts, and another to inquire into the question of Irish industrial development, and further to promise Ireland a measure of local government similar to those which were to be given to England and Scotland. Lord Randolph Churchill declared that in dealing with the three countries in this matter the Government policy was to be marked by "equality, similarity and simultaneity."[1] The Government were determined, above all, to maintain the Union and resist Home Rule, and Sir R. Hamilton, the Home Rule Under-Secretary for Ireland, was removed from his position.[2] At the same time, anxious to stay evictions and prevent a recrudescence of agrarian agitation, the Government sent General Buller to Kerry. He was armed with extraordinary powers, and was soon interviewing Moonlighters and evicted tenants, and threatening landlords who were unreasonable and wanted to evict that they could not rely on having the forces of the Crown. This was called pressure within the law. But men like the Marquis of Clanricarde refused to submit to any such pressure, and the Government, charged with claiming a power of dispensing from the law, repudiated making any such claim, and henceforth Clanricarde and his fellow-landlords had police and military placed at their disposal.[3]

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[1] *Annual Register*, p. 255; O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 157; Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 585-6; O'Connor's *Parnell Movement*, p. 287.

[2] Morley, ii. 587.

[3] *Life of Churchill*, ii. 124-6; Jeyes' *Chamberlain*, i. 235-6; *Annual Register*, p. 257.

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[1] T. M. Healy in *Contemporary Review*, January 1887.

[2] *Annual Register*, pp. 135-7.

[3] *Ibid.* 278-83.

This was the state of things in October, but it was sure to be worse when the November rents became due, for then there would be more rents to be paid and more tenants unable to pay. Still Mr. Parnell was for peace and patience. At the worst Lord Cowper's Commission would soon report, and its report could not be ignored by the Government. Mr. Parnell had set his heart on getting Home Rule. Scotland by three to two had declared for it, Wales by five to one, and England, he believed, would come round in time. But if agitation and outrage commenced in Ireland, the Liberals would be embarrassed, the Liberal Unionists repelled, and in England the cry for Home Rule would be drowned in the much louder cry for Coercion. Parnell wanted the Unionists to proceed to legislation. Lord Randolph Churchill's programme of agricultural allotments and reduction of railway rates and taxation would be sure to irritate the old-fashioned Tories; his ideas on local government were much nearer the ideas of Mr. Chamberlain than those of Lord Hartington or Lord Salisbury, and Mr. Parnell's hopes were that in these legislative proposals lay the germs of serious differences, and that probably the Union of the Unionists would soon be dissolved. But some of Mr. Parnell's chief lieutenants were not willing to be patient. They were not willing to wait on the convenience of a Unionist Government, and stand aside while Irish tenants were driven from their homes. Nor indeed did they wish that the Unionists could claim the credit of settling the Irish Land question. And hence, in the end of October, the "Plan of Campaign" was formulated. Mr. Harrington, the Secretary of the National League and member for Westmeath, was its author; its two chief advocates were Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien.[1]

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[1] *Churchill's Life*, ii. 138-40, 163-5.

[2] *Annual Register*, p. 293.

[3] *Ibid.* 294, 311.

It was not a No-Rent movement, nor was it intended to be put in force when landlords were reasonable and tenants able to pay. But when the rents were obviously too high, and such as could not be paid in full, the tenants adopting the Plan were to meet and agree on the reduction they were to demand from their landlord. If he refused their demand they paid him nothing, elected a managing committee from among themselves—the priest being a member if willing to act—paid the reduced rent to this committee, and then fought the landlord with the money thus lodged. This was called the Estate Fund, and was to be supplemented by grants from the National League Funds. No tenant adopting the Plan was to make terms with the landlord, except with the consent of his fellows, nor hold any communication with him, and each individual should always abide by the decision of the majority. Campaign tenants who were evicted were to be supported out of the Estate Fund. In addition to this, every obstacle was to be thrown in the way of evicting landlords. No evicted farm was to be taken, no stock seized for rent to be purchased, and if in asserting his legal rights the landlord broke the law, he was to be brought into Court to answer for his misdeeds.[2]

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[1] Healy, *Why Ireland is not Free*, p. 18.

[2] *Annual Register*, pp. 312-15.

Mr. Parnell was then seriously unwell—so unwell that when Mr. O'Brien went to London to consult him he was unable to see him. He subsequently complained that he had not been consulted, and it was indeed strange that the party, as a whole, had not been taken into counsel before so grave a step was taken. From the beginning Mr. Parnell was opposed to the Plan. For one thing, he considered it a violation of the Kilmainham Treaty, under which, on obtaining Liberal support, he was to slow down the agitation.[1] In public, Mr. Morley thought it best to express no opinion, but in private he told Mr. Parnell that the effect of the Plan in England was "wholly bad."[2] Mr. Gladstone's opinion coincided with that of Mr. Morley, but he blamed the Government even more than he blamed Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien.[3] Mr. Davitt, at the solicitation of Mr. Parnell, had nothing to do with the Plan, and evidently did not approve of it.[4] As for the Tories and Liberal Unionists, they fiercely assailed it and its authors; however much they might differ on other subjects, on this they were at one. But while the Plan had, from the Irish point of view, the unfortunate effect of closing the Unionist ranks, it cannot be denied that it proved a powerful weapon on the tenants' side, and had in the great majority of cases in which it was adopted the effect of bringing the landlords to reason. And it is certain also that many exacting landlords, fearing the Plan might be adopted by their tenants, hauled down their flag of defiance. The Government, finding their landlord friends were being worsted and their enemies triumphant, struck back, and in December Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien were prosecuted. Mr. Dillon gave bail, but continued his Campaign operations.[5] In the new year as in the old the fight went on; the landlords shrieked for Coercion; the cry was taken up in England, and grew in volume; and when Parliament opened in February, the Queen's Speech announced that a Coercion Bill would be introduced.

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[1] O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 170-74.

[2] *Annual Register*, p. 297; *Life of Gladstone*, ii. 610.

[3] *Life of Gladstone*, ii. 611-12.

[4] *Fall of Feudalism*, pp. 514-20.

[5] *Annual Register*, p. 319.

But meanwhile the Unionist Government had passed through a severe ordeal. In the last days of the year, without consultation with his political or personal friends, Lord Randolph Churchill resigned his position as Chancellor of the Exchequer. He found fault with the Army and Navy estimates; but the fact was he was out of touch with his colleagues on many matters of policy, being much more of a Radical than a Tory. By sheer audacity and force of character he had led his party far towards Liberal reforms, and had no doubt they would continue to submit themselves to his guidance. He believed himself necessary to the life of the Government, and tendered his resignation, confident that it would not be accepted and that henceforth his position would be stronger than ever. But Lord Salisbury and his colleagues had had enough of Liberal programmes, and had long enough submitted to a Radical in the garb of a Tory. Much, therefore, to Lord Randolph's astonishment, Lord Salisbury accepted his resignation. Mr. Goschen from the Liberal-Unionist side became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. W. H. Smith became Leader of the House of Commons.[1]

To Mr. Chamberlain this turn of affairs was not welcome. A Unionist Government without Lord Randolph Churchill, he thought, was not likely to hold together, and at best would be more Tory than Liberal, and therefore less deserving of his support. In this frame of mind he spoke at Birmingham, eulogizing the retiring Minister, and at the same time expressing his own anxiety for the reunion of the Liberal party. He could not see why the divided Liberals should continue their quarrels. Mr. Gladstone had formally abandoned his Irish Land Purchase Bill, which had proved a stumbling-block to many;[2] and as for himself, he fully agreed with his late colleagues as to the urgency of English and Scotch reforms. He was, further, in favour of a large measure of local government for Ireland, and of settling the Irish Land question without, however, burdening the British taxpayer, and he urged that

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 304-5; *Churchill's Life*, ii. 230-40, 43-48.

[2] *Annual Register*, pp. 272-4.

Home Rule might wait a little, at least until it was better understood. Nor could he see why a few representative Liberals from both sides, sitting round a table in friendly conference, could not bridge over the differences which kept them asunder.

One of the most prominent and influential of the Radical members, Mr. Labouchere, scoffed at Mr. Chamberlain's overtures as worthless and insincere.[1] But Mr. Gladstone thought them worth considering, and in January what came to be called The Round Table Conference held its first sitting at the house of Sir William Harcourt. Mr. Chamberlain and Sir George (lately Mr.) Trevelyan were on one side, Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Morley on the other, with Lord Herschell, the late Liberal Lord Chancellor, in the chair. Lord Hartington was not represented, nor did he approve of the Conference at all. Several meetings were held, much good feeling displayed, many difficulties got over, many points of argument arrived at, and it seemed as if warring brothers were to lay their enmities aside and clasp hands in unity and peace. But suddenly and unexpectedly Mr. Chamberlain wrote an article in a Baptist newspaper attacking the Irish members of Parliament. He protested against the Scotch crofter, the English agricultural labourer, and the Welsh Dissenter being neglected for three millions of disloyal Irishmen, and because eighty delegates representing the policy and receiving the pay of the Chicago Convention were determined to obstruct all business until their demands had been conceded.[2] This was war rather than peace, and the Conference broke up never to meet again. A few months later Sir George Trevelyan abandoned Unionism and came back to his old friends. But Mr. Chamberlain drifted further and further away from Liberalism, and when the Unionists brought in a Coercion Bill for Ireland he was found among its supporters and its champions.

It was introduced in the end of March. Earlier in the month Sir M. Hicks-Beach had resigned the office of Chief

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 304-5.

[2] Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 607-8.

Secretary owing to ill-health. His place was taken by Mr. Arthur Balfour, nephew of Lord Salisbury, and it was the new Chief Secretary who took charge of the Coercion Bill. Mr. Balfour had been a member of the Fourth Party, and as such had first come into notice. He was a young man, scholarly, cultured, an author, a philosopher, somewhat of a sceptic, of agreeable manners and fine literary tastes. He was not the stamp of man whom the public would expect to play successfully the rôle of a militant politician. But Mr. Balfour soon showed unexpected capacity for political work. His courage, his resource, his readiness of reply, the quickness with which he seized upon the weak points in his opponents' case, the skill with which he extricated himself out of difficulties or defended an untenable position, astonished both friend and foe. Yet great as his powers were, they were severely taxed to defend the Coercion Bill and ensure its passage through Parliament. Since the Union it was the eighty-seventh Coercion Bill, and Mr. Gladstone described it as the worst of them all. Like its predecessors, it gave the Lord-Lieutenant power to proclaim associations, to suppress newspapers, to disperse meetings by force, to quarter extra police in proclaimed districts at the expense of the inhabitants. But, in addition, it enormously increased the summary jurisdiction of resident magistrates ; it provided for the arrest of accused persons in England, and for their trial in London if necessary ; and the Act was to be perpetual. It required no small courage to carry such a measure in face of such critics as the Irish Party and Mr. Gladstone, or to justify it to Unionist members who but twelve months before had indignantly repudiated Coercion as an alternative to Home Rule.[1] But Mr. Balfour undertook the task. Relying on the returns made by the Irish Constabulary, the charges of Irish judges at Assizes, on strong articles in Nationalist newspapers, on the violent speeches of irresponsible orators, he drew a lurid picture of Ireland. Terror of the National League was everywhere. The law of the land was paralyzed. Men were afraid to give evidence in Law Courts, afraid to act as jurors, afraid to give a verdict according to their oaths. Men were cruelly boycotted for doing what the law allowed ; nearly 1000 persons were under police protection ; and all this was done by the National League and the Nationalist Party, supported by dynamite and dagger and American gold.[1]

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[1] *Parnell Movement*, pp. 286-7.

Asked for particulars as to persons under the ban of the National League, Mr. Balfour was not communicative, taking shelter under the plea of official secrecy. When he did give particulars he was frequently exposed. He described how a Catholic farmer named Clarke, who had obtained money under false pretences, had escaped conviction at the hands of a jury of Catholic farmers, though the case was proved against him. But the fact was that Clarke was neither a Catholic nor a farmer. He described how a man named Hogan, accused of an outrage on a girl, had been similarly acquitted. But it was found that the girl herself was a consenting party, and therefore the jury refused to convict. A third case was that of a Moonlighter from Kerry, also acquitted. But Mr. Harrington, who had acted as counsel in the case, was able to say that the judge disbelieved the charge and directed the acquittal of the prisoner. Mr. Balfour gave the names of two branches of the League which had passed resolutions calling for the boycotting of all those who refused to join the League. From Mr. Parnell and from Mr. Harrington came the reply that one of the branches had been dissolved by the Central Branch, and in the other case the local committee had been called on to resign. As to the charges of judges, no one who knew anything about Ireland attached any importance to them. Promotion to the Irish bench comes as a reward for political services, and the promoted lawyer is as much a partisan on the bench as he had been at the Bar.[2]

These exposures were damaging, and so also was the report of Lord Cowper's Commission, which found that there had been a considerable fall in agricultural prices.[3] Sir

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 88-93.

[2] *Parnell Movement*, pp. 291-4.

[3] *Annual Register*, p. 94.

Redvers Buller, who gave evidence, swore that in Ireland the law was on the side of the rich. Further, it was notorious that wherever the Plan of Campaign had been adopted there was no agrarian crime; and all through the winter and spring Sir M. Hicks-Beach had been bringing pressure to bear on landlords. Yet the arguments founded on all these facts, even when put forth with all the authority and eloquence of Mr. Gladstone, failed to make any impression on the Unionists. They swallowed the pledges they had made the previous year against Coercion and voted for the closure, so as to facilitate the passage of Mr. Balfour's Bill. Liberals and Irish opposed the measure with determination; but the unsparing use of the closure, backed up by obedient majorities, made all opposition futile, and at last Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell and their followers left the House of Commons. The Bill was then rushed through, and in the end of July became law.[1]

Many Unionists declared that they could not support Coercion if a Land Bill were not also introduced; and to satisfy these, and carry out the recommendations of Lord Cowper's Commission, a Land Bill was introduced, and in August became law. Under pressure from Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Randolph Churchill, it was improved in its passage through the House of Commons, and in its final shape it admitted leaseholders to the benefits of the 1881 Land Act, and provided for a revision of judicial rents. Had all this been done twelve months before, Mr. Parnell would have been satisfied, and there would have been no Plan of Campaign, and need have been no Coercion Act. But concessions to Ireland have always been too late, and this one, accompanied by a drastic Coercion Act, was received with no gratitude in Ireland.

The year 1887 was a year of Jubilee in England. The Queen was then fifty years on her throne. The vast extent of territory which she inherited had been still further increased during her reign. In Australia and in America were self-governing and prosperous colonies, their institutions modelled on those of England, their loyalty to her strengthened by the freedom which they enjoyed. A mighty and ever-growing empire in Africa, and in Asia the teeming millions of India, alike owned England's sway. Her army scattered over the earth manned her fortresses, her navy ruled the seas, and in every trading port ships were found with the English flag at their mast-heads. Not often in human history were there such scenes as were presented in the streets of London and in Westminster Abbey on the 21st of June. Seated in the famous church to give thanks to God for the length of her reign, the Queen was surrounded by a crowd of princes of her own blood. Kings had come from afar to do her honour, from the various countries of Europe, from Persia and China and Japan ; dusky princes there were from India arrayed in glittering jewels, officers in varied uniforms, judges in scarlet and ermine, ambassadors in brilliant attire, peers in their robes, ladies with flashing diamonds, all these were gathered together. The houses and streets along the route from Buckingham Palace were a mass of decorations ; and when darkness came, the illuminations everywhere turned night into day in this the richest capital of the universe. And in great cities far away the fêtes and gaiety of London were imitated.[1] Ireland alone took no part in these celebrations, but, sullen and discontented, kept sorrowfully apart. Her prosperity had not grown with the prosperity of England ; her liberties had not been extended like those of so many British Colonies ; a Coercion Act was then passing through Parliament giving to Ireland a new supply of scourges and chains ; and Ireland had not therefore any Jubilee offering to make but her poverty and her tears.

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 96-99, 105, 109 *et seq.*

In August the Irish National League was proclaimed under the new Coercion Act, and the struggle between Mr. Balfour and the Irish leaders began. It was long and bitter. Every National League branch in the country was forthwith attacked. Its meetings were broken up by police, its rooms or offices invaded, its papers and books seized, and the newspapers which published its resolutions were prosecuted and their editors imprisoned. Resident magistrates filled with landlord prejudice inflicted severe sentences on those who attended public meetings ; nor was any distinction made between them and ordinary prisoners ; and members of Parliament and newspaper editors were obliged to mix with thieves, to wear the same dress and do the same work and eat the same food. Police and military were drafted round the country at great public expense, and such was the reckless audacity of some of their officers that a certain Captain Plunkett ordered his men "not to hesitate to shoot." The result was many collisions between people and police, and consequent loss of life. At Youghal a young man was stabbed to death by a policeman ; at Fermoy the police beat a man to death ; at Tipperary a man was shot by a policeman who was believed to be intoxicated ; at Timoleague the police fired on a crowd, killing a man ; at Gweedore a police-inspector was killed ; and a head constable was killed in Clare.[1] A small boy was imprisoned for smiling sarcastically at a policeman ; another for whistling "Harvey Duff"; a third for cheering for Mr. Gladstone ; and a little girl of twelve was sent to jail for being one of a crowd of persons who obstructed the sheriff's officers when seizing sheep in the interests of a neighbouring landlord.[2]

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 138-42 ; MacCarthy's *History of Our Own Times*, iii. 333-6 ; *Times* Report.

At Mitchelstown events occurred which attracted worldwide attention. A public meeting consisting of several thousands was held in the Square of the town on the 9th of September 1887, and was addressed by several members of Parliament, English as well as Irish. Mr. Dillon was among the latter. A Government reporter, under police protection, was sent to take down the speeches, and had he come in due time all would have been well, for there had hitherto been no objection to the presence of such a reporter. But he came when the meeting was in progress, accompanied by about twenty policemen, who attemped to force a passage through the dense crowd. This being found impossible, the reporter retired, and soon reappeared accompanied by a greatly increased force of police. Confident in their strength and in their arms, these police handled the crowd roughly ; the crowd retorted with their sticks; the police fled to the barracks, and no sooner had they got within shelter than they opened fire on the people, killing three men. The enraged thousands rushed on the barracks and would have wrecked it, and probably sacrificed the lives of the police, had not Mr. Dillon and the priests present intervened. A coroner's inquest returned a verdict of wilful murder against the county inspector and three of the policemen; and from the evidence given, it was quite plain that the police were entirely to blame. But no action was taken by the Government. In England Mr. Gladstone attacked both police and Government with vigour. Mr. Balfour replied with sneers and sarcasm, and emphatically denied that the police were in any way to blame.[1]

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[1] *Annual Register*, p. 200.

[2] Davitt's *Fall of Feudalism*, pp. 523-6.

This indeed was his usual custom. He could give no credit for honesty or good intentions to his opponents; they were law-breakers and must be put down. On the other hand, no Government official, high or low, could do wrong. The judge who, forgetting the ermine he wore, spoke like a Crown prosecutor was impartial. The magistrate who inflicted a savage sentence on a member of Parliament was merely doing his duty. The police-officer who gave a reckless order resulting in riot and bloodshed was a conscientious official. The policeman who used his baton freely on the heads of inoffensive people was zealous to do his work, and deserved the favourable notice of his superior officers. Finally, the Attorney-General, a Catholic himself, who refused to believe Catholics on their oaths, and allowed none to serve on juries, was in high favour with Mr. Balfour. Bishops, priests, and representative laymen united in protesting against this insult done to their religion, but they protested in vain.[2] Jury-packing continued, and the Attorney-General in question, whose name was Peter O'Brien, was nicknamed in Nationalist newspapers "Peter the Packer." Mr. Balfour retorted by praising Mr. O'Brien, and when a vacancy arose on the judicial bench, the unpopular law officer became Lord Chief Justice of Ireland.

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 198-200.

[2] Dr. Counsel's *Pamphlet on Jury-packing*. Dublin, 1887.

Yet this unsparing use of Coercion and the unstinted praise of all its most unscrupulous agents did not still the Irish storm; and Mr. Balfour, feeling baffled and worsted in the struggle, besought the aid of His Holiness the Pope. Two priests had already been imprisoned, Canon Keller of Youghal and Father Ryan of Tipperary. Others attended public meetings and made speeches, and were in sympathy with the National League, and in some cases with the Plan of Campaign. Shocked at such conduct, the British Government asked the Pope to interfere and compel these Christian ministers to desist from encouraging disorder and illegality. But the Pope, not willing to act precipitately, despatched a high ecclesiastic—Monsignor Persico—to Ireland to inquire on the spot. From the first Monsignor Persico was regarded by the Irish Nationalists with distrust. The distrust was deepened when he was seen visiting the houses of Catholics who were landlords and Unionists. And when in April 1888 a Papal Rescript was published condemning the Plan of Campaign and boycotting, there was strong language used at Irish public meetings against Pope and Papal Envoy. The days of O'Connell and the Veto were recalled. Mr. Parnell described the Rescript as an attempt by the Pope to control the political situation in Ireland by right of his supreme spiritual authority. The Irish Catholic members of Parliament, while freely acknowledging the Pope's right to their obedience in spiritual matters, repudiated him as a political guide. And they pointed out the insufficiency of the reasons given in the Rescript. It was declared that tenants entered freely into contracts with their landlords; that the Land Courts were open to them; that funds collected under the Plan of Campaign had been extorted from the tenants; that boycotting was against charity and justice. Mr. Dillon and others answered that it was notorious that contracts between landlords and tenants were not free, but that tenants were at the landlords' mercy; that Courts manned by landlords and agents were not impartial tribunals, and in any case were useless to tenants burdened with arrears; that in no case had the Plan been forced on tenants; and if boycotting and intimidation were not unknown in the Irish agrarian movement, it was the only way in which poverty-stricken tenants could defend themselves. What irritated the Irish Catholics most was that the Pope seemed to have ignored the information obtained from the Irish Bishops. And it annoyed them to see the Orange orators, who so often cursed the Pope, now praise him and point the finger of scorn at these wicked Catholic politicians who received and deserved the censure of the Head of their Church.[1]

To Monsignor Persico grave injustice was done. His private letters have since been made public, and show him to have had profound admiration for the Irish Catholics, and to have been completely in sympathy with Irish National aspirations ; and he felt pained that he should be considered an enemy to Ireland.[2] Not then by him, but probably by some high-placed Englishman—speaking in the name of his Government—had Ireland been attacked. The Pope had great admiration for England, whose fair-play towards Catholics was in such striking contrast to that of the so-called Catholic Government of France. He was an old diplomatist and an able one, and if he could accede to the wishes of the British representatives, it would surely be of service to the millions of Catholics scattered throughout the British Empire. And he felt he could do this without injury to Ireland, for it was not the Irish National movement but its excesses he condemned. Nor could it be denied that in isolated cases intimidation and boycotting had been needlessly used. Even as a means of bringing about reform, it is at least doubtful if the Plan of Campaign was the best weapon that could be devised. A plan under which the tenants would contribute to an insurance fund, enabling them to fight the landlords and sustain the evicted, and expose to the world the iniquities of landlordism, would have probably succeeded as well ; and such a plan would have broken no law and invited no moral reprobation. But the Plan of Campaign, initiated by individuals and not by the National Party, could not attain and did not attain the strength of a National movement, and was publicly disavowed by Mr. Parnell.[1] It brought on the Jubilee Coercion Act, embarrassed Mr. Gladstone and the English Liberals, and cemented the Union of his political opponents. Caused by the refusal of a Tory Government to do justice in 1886, it was in part justified by the Land Act of the following year. But nothing could excuse the folly of putting it in force, in the case of a prosperous town, with the consequent ruin which followed.[2] Certainly the Plan had its victories, and in 1888 its terms were accepted on no less than thirty-seven estates; which means that the landlords had been reduced to reason and the tenants had been protected from injustice.[3] These victories were duly published. But the defeats of the Plan were also apparent; in the imprisonment of so many members of Parliament and others; in the number of evicted tenants who for twenty years weighed like lead on the Irish National movement; in the broken hearts of so many who died in poverty and exile; in the ruined houses of Woodford and Luggacurran and in the grass-grown streets of Tipperary.

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 235-6.

[2] Letters published in *United Irishman.*

In the midst of much talk about the Plan of Campaign, and of its good and evil effects, the Coercion struggle in Ireland went steadily on. Newspapers were suppressed, editors imprisoned, meetings proclaimed, meetings held in spite of proclamations, conflicts between people and police, members of Parliament of such standing and character as Messrs. Dillon, O'Brien and T. D. Sullivan thrown into jail,[4] and a well-known and much-respected Munsterman, Mr. John Mandeville, tortured in prison until he died.[5] One result of all this was that the Liberals and Irish Nationalists came closer together. Prominent English politicians like Lord Ripon and Mr. Morley came to Ireland and made speeches; Mr. Labouchere was present at Mitchelstown when the three men were shot by the police; Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, M.P., visited Woodford; Mr. Blunt

[1] *Annual Register*, 1888, pp. 109-10.

[2] Davitt, pp. 521-2.

[3] *Annual Register*, p. 235.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 201; T. D. Sullivan's *Recollections of Troubled Times in Irish Politics*, pp. 236-41.

[5] *Annual Register*, 1888, pp. 238-9.

spent two months in an Irish prison; and Mr. Conybeare, M.P., three months. Deputations from Liberal Associations saw evictions and Coercion trials; and English reporters wrote in the newspapers, and from personal knowledge, of the grinding injustice of Irish landlords and of the miseries of the Irish poor. Nor was any speaker at English elections listened to with greater respect than Irish members of Parliament, and none received a heartier greeting. The arguments of Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen, Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour were answered by such able men as Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Morley and Sir George Trevelyan. But Mr. Gladstone was active and effective above them all. He watched the debates in Parliament, he wrote articles for reviews, he received deputations, he spoke to thousands from platforms, and everywhere Ireland was his theme. He dwelt with special emphasis on the character of Mr. Balfour's coercion régime. He denounced the conduct of the police and military at Ennis;[1] and he bade his audience remember Mitchelstown;[2] and the cry was taken up and re-echoed from a hundred platforms. He complained that within little more than a year from the passing of the Coercion Act, 21 out of the 85 Irish Nationalist members had been imprisoned, and that they had been treated like felons—"a shameful, an inhuman, a brutal proceeding."[3] He spoke with scathing severity of the way in which Mr. Mandeville had been done to death, and boldly asserted that the Irish prisons were no better than those of Naples in the days of King Bomba.[4]

To all these charges Mr. Balfour made no serious reply; all he could say was that Mr. Gladstone himself had passed Coercion Acts, and that the Jubilee Coercion Act was not more severe.[5] His speeches were those of a sophist rather than of a statesman. He had no anxiety to remove the causes of Irish discontent, no apology for all his severity, no word of censure for over-zealous subordinates, no expression of regret for the death of Mr. Mandeville. He appeared to be satisfied, and to think his work done if in Parliament or on the platform he gained over Mr. Gladstone some barren dialectical victory. In the session of 1888 his Government extended the Ashbourne Act by voting an additional sum of £5,000,000; but beyond this nothing was to be done. Anti-Irish prejudice in England was of ancient growth and not easily removed, but Mr. Balfour's speeches were not satisfying the public, and by the end of 1888 the Unionists had begun to lose ground. Public opinion was still further influenced by events which occurred early in the new year; and from the end of 1889 Mr. Gladstone could claim, with truth, that he had with him the flowing tide.

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[1] *Annual Register*, 1887, pp. 169-70.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1887, pp. 159-61.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1888, pp. 155, 158.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1888, pp. 155-60, 163; Morley, ii. 618-23.
[5] *Annual Register*, 1887, pp. 174-5, 185-6; 1888, pp. 119-22.

At the election of 1886 a recently formed Association, the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, had been especially active. Freely sustained by wealth and privilege on both sides of the Channel, by class and the dependents of class, it appealed to bigotry and race hatred, to ascendancy and distrust of the people, and had for its main end and object to defeat Mr. Gladstone's policy of Home Rule. Its Secretary was a young Irish barrister named Houston, who certainly showed no lack of zeal in the work set him to do. During the year 1886, from the printing press under his control, he had published and circulated over eleven millions of leaflets. Most of these were issued at election times. There were also pamphlets, "murder maps," showing the connexion between the Land League and National League and crimes of the worst kind; extracts from Nationalist speeches; and there were 100,000 wall-posters issued.[1] Mr. Houston had also sent fifty-five speakers to England and Wales. They were not scrupulous as to the statements they made, and freely attacked the Irish members of Parliament as they grossly exaggerated every outrage in Ireland, and painted in vivid colours the sufferings of loyal and law-abiding Irishmen at the hands of lawless leagues. In this work of defamation Mr. Houston found a zealous co-operator in the London *Times*. Its great and far-reaching influence, its enormous literary capacity had ever been thrown into the scale against Ireland. It had attacked O'Connell, it had attacked John MacHale, it had called the Irish priests surpliced ruffians, it had gloated over the decimation of the Irish masses by famine and emigration, and now it assailed Parnell and the movement with which he was identified with a vigour and venom which recalled the days of O'Connell.[1]

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[1] Davitt's *Fall of Feudalism*, pp. 500-501.

Yet the joint efforts of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union—the I.L.P.U. as it was called for brevity—and the *Times* were not so successful at the General Elections of 1886 as they would have wished. The shifting of 100,000 votes would have meant a great Home Rule victory instead of a great defeat. Time was on the side of Mr. Gladstone, and it looked as if, under the magic of his eloquence, the next election would reverse the verdict of its predecessor. But if Parnell and his party could be shown to be criminals and traitors, in league with assassins and approving of murder, English prejudice would be roused, and all Mr. Gladstone's eloquence would be in vain. With this object Houston sought the aid of a disreputable Irishman named Richard Pigott. He was needy and unprincipled, the former proprietor of two Fenian newspapers, the *Irishman* and *The Flag of Ireland*. Houston had been a Dublin reporter, and must have well known of Pigott's lack of principle and money. Nor had he any difficulty in getting him for the sum of £60 to write in 1885 a pamphlet called *Parnellism Unmasked*.[2] But it contained nothing new—nothing but those vague charges against the Irish leaders which had been already repeated many times on Unionist platforms in Great Britain. What was required was documentary evidence, such as would bring home the guilt of crime to Mr. Parnell and his friends, and blast their reputations before the world. If Pigott could get such documents as these he would be well paid, and while

[1] *Russell's Speech at Parnell Commission*, pp. 5-8.

[2] *Davitt's Speech at "Times" Commission*, p. 331.

searching for them he would have a guinea a day and travelling expenses. To a man steeped in debt this was as food to the hungry, as water to the man dying of thirst. Pigott undertook to procure the required documents, and for a time spent the time pleasantly travelling from Ireland to Paris, from Paris to Lausanne, and putting up at the best hotels as he travelled. In the end of 1886 he had his first batch of letters, and in 1888 he had procured two further batches.[1] Houston bought them all, and then sold them for £2500 to the *Times*.

Relying on the first batch of letters, the *Times* then proceeded to publish a series of articles in the spring of 1887 under the heading "Parnellism and Crime." On the 18th of April, the very day on which the second reading of the Coercion Bill was to be taken, it went further, and published what became afterwards known as the Facsimile Letter. It was as follows:—

> 15/5/82.
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> DEAR SIR—I am not surprised at your friend's anger, but he and you should know that to denounce the murders was the only course open to us. To do that promptly was our best policy. But you can tell him and all others concerned that though I regret the accident to Lord F. Cavendish, I can't refuse to admit that Burke got no more than his deserts.—Yours very truly,
>
> CHAS. S. PARNELL.[2]

The date given was but nine days after the Phœnix Park murders, and the meaning was that Mr. Parnell was apologizing to some confederate for having denounced the murders as he had done. If the letter was genuine, Parnell was both a criminal and a hypocrite. In the Liberal camp there was a feeling of dismay. It was well known that Parnell did not love England; he had certainly met Fenians and got subscriptions from them and had some old Fenians in his party; and might it not be that the letter was genuine? It was, further, almost impossible that a great journal like the *Times*, the first newspaper in the world, would be so duped.

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[1] *Russell's Speech*, pp. 530-33.

[2] *Annual Register*, pp. 99-100.

In the House of Commons Mr. Parnell, of course, denied having written the letter or having any sympathy with the contents. Many plainly disbelieved him. He was told to take proceedings against the *Times*, but he knew the prejudice against him in London, and an adverse verdict would have ruined himself and his movement; while if he had the case tried in Dublin, a verdict in his favour would be discounted in England. For these reasons he watched and waited. And meantime Lord Salisbury described his language of denial in the House of Commons as marked by callousness, "perhaps even by tolerance of murder"; at the same time denouncing Mr. Gladstone for associating with such a man. Lesser men adopted this truculent language. The *Times* continued its articles on "Parnellism and Crime," and fresh letters were bought from Houston and duly appeared. Thinking that he too was aggrieved by the publication of the *Times*, Mr. F. H. O'Donnell, ex-M.P., took an action for libel, but the *Times* pleaded that there was no intention to asperse Mr. O'Donnell's character, and a verdict for the defendants was obtained. It was not, however, said that the Irish members were guiltless, and in point of fact the *Times* continued to assail them.[1]

At last Mr. Parnell's patience was exhausted, and in July 1888 he demanded a Select Committee of the House of Commons to examine into the authenticity of the Facsimile Letter. Instead of this the Government passed an Act constituting a Commission of three Judges to inquire into the "charges and allegations" contained in "Parnellism and Crime." The judges appointed were political partisans; they were to inquire into the whole Irish movement, unlimited as to time; and to take into account what had been the character of Irish government as causing discontent, and therefore predisposing to crime, was placed beyond the scope of the inquiry. Further, the whole matter of the Commission was settled only after Mr. Walter, the proprietor of the *Times*, and Mr. Smith, the Tory leader in the House of Commons, had consulted together, and in the inquiry itself the Attorney-General was leading counsel for the *Times*. Nor was there any desire when the Commission opened its doors in September to come to the letters bought from Pigott. On the contrary, the object seemed to be to make fresh charges against the Irish leader, to fish up from the turbid waters of the past ten years everything that could be fished. As Sir Charles Russell, Mr. Parnell's leading counsel, said, the design was to draw up an indictment against a nation.[1]

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[1] *Vide* especially *Times* for the month of June; T. D. Sullivan, pp. 247-8, 251-4.

Day after day an endless procession of witnesses appeared—priests, peasants, bishops, secretaries of leagues, policemen, magistrates, Crown officials, landlords with a grievance, agents and bailiffs to support their landlords. Peasants came from the hills of Kerry, from the wilds of Connemara, from the mountains of Donegal; and shopkeepers came from the cities and towns; policemen came to whisper into the ears of the *Times'* lawyers secrets that they knew; police magistrates to tell of the disreputable politicians who had been or were still the curse of Ireland. The *Times'* solicitors were allowed to scour the Irish jails and tempt prisoners with money and promises of freedom; and an informer, who had been a member of an American Secret Society, and at the same time in the pay of the British Government, had his story to tell.

Not till February 1889 did Pigott step on to the witness's table, and then under the searching cross-examination of the great Irish lawyer, the whole squalid conspiracy of defamation was laid bare. Contradicting himself, perjuring himself at every turn, sinking deeper and deeper as he proceeded, the wretched agent of Houston, the beads of perspiration standing on his forehead, was indeed a pitiable object. He was at last run to earth. For two days he stood the awful torture, but when his name was called on the third day he did not appear. Confessing that he was the forger of all the letters sold to Houston, he fled the country, and shot himself dead on the following day in a hotel at Madrid. His career was one of infamy. As far back as 1881 he had got money from Mr. Forster because he had attacked the Land League, and at the same time asked money of Mr. Egan, the League Treasurer, promising to defend the League; and he had obtained money from Dr. Walsh when President of Maynooth College. After he had forged the Facsimile Letter, but before it appeared, he wrote to Dr. Walsh, then Archbishop of Dublin, warning him that Parnell was to be attacked and that he (Pigott) could save him. The wretched creature had no sense of moral rectitude, and in everything he did he sought for money. And yet Houston and the *Times* were not less but perhaps were even more to blame. Houston got the letters, and blindly accepted Pigott's story that he had got them from a man with a black bag, that the first batch came from one Murphy and the second batch from Tom Brown. With a lawyer's astuteness, however, he destroyed all private letters received from Pigott; and he gave the *Times* no guarantee that the letters delivered to them were genuine. The *Times*, however, had asked no questions, and had greedily accepted the letters, paying for them the sum of £2500, so eager were they to blast the character of their political opponents.[1]

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[1] *Russell's Speech*, p. 4.

For some months longer the inquiry lasted. Mr. Parnell and many others were examined, and Sir Charles Russell made a great speech lasting for seven days, speaking, as he said, not only as an advocate, but also for the land of his birth. Then, early in 1890, the Judges issued their report. They found that the Irish leaders had not incited, approved of, or condoned murder, nor consorted with Invincibles; but that they had not sufficiently discountenanced disorder and outrage, and that they had even preached intimidation. As if, indeed, the British Parliament had ever conceded anything to Ireland except as the result of disorder and violence.[2] The more disreputable of the Unionists professed to discover in these findings a damaging condemnation of the Irish leaders. But the authenticity of the Facsimile Letter was considered the important question, and inside and outside Parliament the discovery of Pigott's forgeries was regarded by every fair-minded man as a great victory for Home Rule. The *Times* was glad to settle a libel action taken by the Irish Leader by the payment of £5000,[1] and in 1889 and 1890 Parnell was the hero of the hour. In the House of Commons, after the exposure of Pigott, he was greeted by the whole Liberal party with enthusiasm, the members waving their hats.[2] At dinner at the Eighty Club, when he and Lord Spencer publicly shook hands, the members cheered again and again, and when he rose to speak they all sprang to their feet waving their napkins above their heads.

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[1] O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 197-234; Morley, ii. 638-50; *Russell's Speech before Commission*; *Davitt's Speech before Commission*; T. D. Sullivan, pp. 257-62, 271.

[2] *Annual Register*, pp. 35-39.

At St. James's Hall, on the same platform with Mr. Morley, he was received "with tremendous enthusiasm."[3] In July he received the freedom of the City of Edinburgh.[4] In November he was the central figure at a great Liberal meeting at Nottingham. The following month he was Mr. Gladstone's guest at Hawarden, whence he drove to a great meeting at Liverpool.[5] And in the new year his popularity remained. The change in public opinion had indeed come, and was reflected in the steady diminution of the Government majority in Parliament, and in their continued losses at by-elections. In 1887, when an amendment to the Address was moved on the Irish question, the Unionist majority was 106. In the next year it fell to 88; in 1889 to 79; and in 1890 to 67.[6] Nothing in the latter year was wanting but a General Election to ensure the return of Mr. Gladstone to power, and with that event the triumph of Home Rule. But once again the fates were unpropitious to Ireland; her bright hopes were not to be realized, and from out the mists and shadows of the immediate future it was defeat rather than victory that loomed.

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[1] *Annual Register*, 1890, p. 26.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1889, p. 32.

[3] *Ibid.* 74.

[4] *Ibid.* 161-4.

[5] *Ibid.* 256-60.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1890, p. 40.

CHAPTER XVI

The Fall of Parnell

In the exciting times immediately preceding and immediately following the Phœnix Park murders, Mr. Parnell and Mr. Chamberlain were often in accord on public questions. Both opposed flogging in the army; both disliked Forster and his Coercion régime in Ireland; and both, in 1885, agreed that there should be further concessions to Ireland. Political sympathy often brought them together in social intercourse, and Mr. Chamberlain had therefore many opportunities of estimating the character of the Irish leader. He was, he said, a good business man, a really great man, and especially a great Parliamentarian. But he thought him unsocial, rather dull and uninteresting, with no small talk and poor conversational powers.[1] His estimate was correct. Mr. Parnell had little taste for social intercourse; he was of a rather thoughtful and retiring disposition. He exercised, however, a certain amount of influence over many women with whom he was brought into contact; he was not a misogynist; and—unfortunately for himself and for Ireland—he had other overmastering passions than ambition and pride. His own sister records that, while a young man at Cambridge, he was responsible for the ruin of a trusting girl who lived with her father on the banks of the Cam.[2] At a later period he was fascinated by an American girl, to whom he proposed marriage; but the lady, at first accepting, finally rejected his suit,[3] and subsequently he never at any time till 1891 seriously contemplated marriage.

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[1] O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 131-2.

[2] Mrs. Dickenson's *A Patriot's Mistake*.

[3] Davitt's *Fall of Feudalism*, pp. 207-8.

Unfortunately, however, he contracted an illicit attachment which had a blighting influence on his career. The lady, who belonged to a distinguished English family, was the wife of an Irishman, Captain O'Shea. In 1880 O'Shea was elected M.F for Clare, and was one of those who voted for Mr. Parnell as chairman of the Irish Party in preference to Mr. Shaw. Parnell and O'Shea were thus brought together, and thus it was that the former met Mrs. O'Shea. Mastered by a fatal fascination, both fell, and in the years subsequent to 1881 the life of each was a life of sin.

There is deep pathos in the words of Mr. John Parnell as he describes the change which came over his brother. Wearied by exacting public affairs, the Irish leader was wont to rush back from London to Avondale. He loved his beautiful Wicklow home, and in the woods and fields around he shot and fished and rode and talked to the workmen and was happy. Then there was a change. Round Mrs. O'Shea he hovered as the moth does round the candle, and to her home at Eltham he bent his way instead of crossing the sea. And he forgot his duty to Ireland as he forgot Avondale. This is not denied by his able and sympathetic biographer, always anxious as he is to shield Mr. Parnell's memory from reproach. He confesses "frankly and fully" that during the years 1882-1884 "there were weeks and months which he (Parnell) could have spent in Ireland, to the immense advantage of the National movement, but for his unfortunate attachment."[1] The struggle in Ireland was then fierce and bitter, and Mr. Parnell's presence and assistance on many occasions would have given fresh courage to the harassed combatants on the Nationalist side. In Parliament also his constant attendance would have done much. His fighting powers were great, and had he watched and waited in Parliament and struck home at the critical moment, as he alone knew how, the Coercionist Government of Mr. Gladstone would have ended long before the summer of 1885.

As early as 1881 Captain O'Shea's suspicions were aroused. Returning from London to his home at Eltham, he found Mr.

[1] O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 165.

Parnell there, and was so enraged that he sent him a challenge. But Mrs. O'Shea's protestations of innocence dispelled her husband's suspicions, and the old cordial relations between the two Irishmen were resumed.[1] In the next year O'Shea was prominent in the negotiations which ended in the Kilmainham Treaty. As a close personal friend of Mr. Chamberlain, he was able to obtain permission to see Mr. Parnell in prison. He had interviews with Mr. Forster, and he corresponded with both Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain, the result of all being the political ruin of Forster and the liberation of Parnell. Beyond his share in these events O'Shea's public services were not important. He was but a nominal Home Ruler, unwilling to take the Irish Party pledge, and when the General Election of 1885 came, he disappeared from Parliament. In the next year he reappeared. Mr. T. P. O'Connor had been returned for a division of Liverpool as well as for Galway City, and having elected to sit for Liverpool, Galway became vacant. A capable and strongly supported local candidate came forward in the person of Mr. Lynch. But Mr. Parnell insisted on having Captain O'Shea. Mr. Biggar and Mr. Healy, however, refused to acquiesce in this selection, and went to Galway to support Lynch. They were behind the scenes, and knew that giving Galway to O'Shea was the price paid for Mrs. O'Shea's virtue, and they thought the price paid too high. For Captain O'Shea was not the stamp of man that an Irish Nationalist constituency would care to have as its representative. But Parnell was determined. He came to Galway accompanied by Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Sexton; told the people that the rejection of O'Shea would mean the loss of Home Rule; and told Mr. Biggar and Mr. Healy that he would fight it out at all costs, even if the people of Galway kicked him through the streets. The horror of dissension on the very eve of the introduction of Gladstone's Home Rule Bill silenced opposition. Mr. Biggar was unyielding, but Mr. Healy yielded; Mr. Lynch also withdrew, and Captain O'Shea became M.P. for Galway. His gratitude consisted in following the lead of Mr. Chamberlain, and in refusing to vote for the second reading of the Home Rule Bill.[1] At the General Election of 1886 he was not a candidate for any Irish constituency, and did not again sit in Parliament; but in the years that followed he continued to intrigue with Mr. Chamberlain, and finally effected the ruin of Home Rule.

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[1] O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 162-3.

Meanwhile Mr. Parnell continued his relations with Mrs. O'Shea. To be near her he took a house at Eltham; for her sake he neglected his public duties. He seldom appeared in Parliament. In the hard-fought struggle with Mr. Balfour in Ireland he took no part. He found fault with the Plan of Campaign, though he took no pains to devise any better means for protecting the tenants. He grew jealous of Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien, and thought they wished to supplant him; but he forgot that they were left without his guidance, and owed their commanding position to his neglect. Holding aloof from his party, his movements stealthy, his residence unknown, his leadership gradually became a nullity, and in times of stress and difficulty his followers were left to shift for themselves.

The explanation of all this came at last. In December 1889 Captain O'Shea filed a petition for divorce, alleging his wife's adultery with Mr. Parnell. There were adjournments and delays, and not until November of the following year did the case come on. Then the story of Parnell's hidden life was disclosed to an astonished world. It was a shameful story—a story of duplicity and treachery, of the betrayal of friendship, of the violation of vows, of the desecration of home, of the sundering of sacred ties. Not a single gleam of heroism or romance lighted up, even for a moment, the dreary record of unquenchable lust. A man of mature years, a lady well past her prime, had forgotten everything but their own lawless love. Deaf to the call of duty, to the voice of patriotism, to the stern commands of moral obligation, the trusted leader had betrayed his trust; and turning his back on Ireland, sought the unhallowed embraces of one whom even the clinging love of children was unable to hold back. There was not and could not be any defence in the Divorce Court, and on the 17th of November a decree of dissolution of marriage was issued.

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[1] *Fall of Feudalism*, pp. 501-3; O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 122-8; T. D. Sullivan, pp. 191-6.

In Ireland both party and people were bewildered. Mr. Parnell's services were great. He had compelled the British Parliament to listen and to concede; he had wrung from it a Land Act, an Arrears Act, a Franchise Act; and now a great English party, headed by the greatest statesman of modern times, was pledged to give back to Ireland her Parliament. The man who had humbled the London *Times* in the dust was one of whom the whole Irish race was proud, and in gratitude for what he had done, Irishmen were ready to sustain him even in spite of his moral delinquencies. If they threw him aside division and discord would arise. Parnell was the clamp that held discordant elements together. Peasant and priest, artisan and merchant, Constitutionalist and Fenian had joined hands under his rule, and now if he were repudiated Ireland would become a prey to strife. It would be as if the winds of Æolus were let loose. Old antagonisms would be revived, and the reign of faction would begin. Thus reasoned millions of Irishmen at home and abroad, who knew the blessings of union, and knew what Ireland had suffered from dissension in the past. And there were millions also who believed that Parnell was innocent, and that the divorce case was only a new attempt to blast his reputation. O'Shea was known to be an intriguer in close touch with Chamberlain and the *Times*, Ireland's bitterest enemies, and from these plotters the charges in the Divorce Court came. And if Parnell offered no defence, it was because he was biding his time. He was waiting till his proofs were ready, and then he would overwhelm his enemies as he had overwhelmed Pigott and the *Times*. The Irish Party had no such illusions as these, for they were painfully conscious of Parnell's guilt. But they dreaded what would follow if his guiding hand were removed; they were only politicians with no authority to decide moral questions, and as politicians they thought it best to stand by their old leader. Hence it was that at a great meeting in the

Leinster Hall, Dublin, they renewed their allegiance to Mr. Parnell.

In the previous September Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien had been prosecuted at Tipperary for inciting Mr. Smith Barry's tenants not to pay rent. They left the country for France, whence they went to America, and in their absence were tried and sentenced to six months' imprisonment.[1] Mr. Harrington, Mr. T. P. O'Connor and Mr. T. D. Sullivan soon joined them in America; and in November all these gentlemen were engaged on behalf of the Irish Party, addressing meetings and obtaining liberal donations for the Irish National cause. Like their brethren at home they resolved to stand by Parnell, and telegraphed to the Leinster Hall meeting that they did so "in the profound conviction that Parnell's statesmanship and matchless qualities as a leader are essential to the safety of our cause." Mr. T. D. Sullivan alone refused to sign the telegram, the reading of which evoked loud cheers in the Leinster Hall. Mr. MacCarthy, at the same meeting, could see no reason why Parnell should not continue to lead the Irish Party and the Irish people to victory. Mr. Healy declared that they were not going to surrender the great chief who had led them so long and so successfully; and he warned off all interfering meddlers by requesting that they were not to speak to the man at the wheel. The *Freeman's Journal* approved of and adopted this language, and to the National League offices in Dublin resolutions of confidence in Parnell from all parts of Ireland came pouring in.[2]

Across the Channel, however, ominous growls were heard. As might have been expected, the *Times* gloated over the disgrace of its great antagonist. The *Standard* scoffed at the notion that such a man should continue to lead any party.[3] The *Daily Telegraph* declared it was in no mood to exult in the disgrace of "a political adversary whose abilities and prowess it was impossible not to respect," but that Parnell

[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 273-5.

[2] O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 239-46; T. D. Sullivan, pp. 281-2.

[3] *Annual Register*, p. 232.

should retire, at least for a time.[1] The lesser lights among the Unionist organs followed the lead of the London journals—some with the dignity and self-restraint of the *Daily Telegraph*, and others with the vindictive animosity of the *Times*. On the Liberal side there was greater reluctance to interfere. It was recognized that the Irish had the best right to choose their own leader. But English Dissenters and Scotch Presbyterians had also the right to say that they would no longer co-operate with Parnell. Intolerant of Catholicity the Nonconformists are, but they deeply reverence the sanctity of marriage and the purity of domestic life; and they were shocked at Mr. Parnell's utter disregard of all moral restraint. Mr. Stead emphatically declared that he should go if Home Rule was to be saved. The Rev. Mr. Price Hughes, a distinguished Dissenting clergyman, was even more emphatic and more severe. At a meeting of the National Liberal Federation on the 21st of November the views of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Stead were adopted, and Mr. Morley and Sir William Harcourt, who were present, had to report to Mr. Gladstone that Parnell's leadership had become impossible.[2] Mr. Davitt, taking the same view as Mr. Stead, called on Parnell to make a sacrifice in return for the many sacrifices the Irish people had made for him. He asked no more than this: that he should efface himself for a brief period from public life.[3]

Mr. Parnell remained tranquil and unmoved in presence of the gathering storm. He seems to have thought that the Divorce Court proceedings had no concern for the public; it was a purely personal matter in no way affecting his public position. Mr. Davitt, before the case was tried, had asked him if the charges were true, and Mr. Parnell, while clearly resenting being questioned in the matter, assured him that all would be well.[4] The very day on which the decree of divorce was pronounced Parnell issued his usual summons to the Irish Party for the approaching session of Parliament. And he laid special stress upon the necessity for the attendance of every man upon the opening day, "as it is unquestionable that the coming session will be one of combat from first to last, and that great issues depend upon its course."[1] The next day the *Freeman's Journal* had a paragraph, evidently inspired by Mr. Parnell, announcing that he had no intention of retiring from his position permanently or temporarily.[2] His resolution to hold on was no doubt strengthened by the loud professions of devotion uttered at the Leinster Hall meeting, and perhaps still more by the rancorous rhetoric of so many British Nonconformist orators, denouncing his conduct in unmeasured terms, and demanding his instant dismissal from public life. Nor had he any explanation to give or any apology to offer on the 25th of November, when the Irish Party with but one dissentient elected him as usual their sessional chairman.[3]

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[1] Morley, ii. 670.

[2] O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 246-7.

[3] *Annual Register*, p. 234.

[4] *Fall of Feudalism*, pp. 636-7.

Meanwhile, however, Mr. Gladstone had taken decisive action. From the first his views were those of the *Daily Telegraph*—that Parnell should retire, at least for a time.[4] He recognized the difficulties of the Irish people, seeing that Parnell's services to Ireland were so great. And he saw that the Divorce Court revelations had shocked the moral sense of Great Britain, though he refused himself to speak on the moral question. He was a politician, and his duty was to watch and wait and note the trend of public opinion. Nor did he say a word publicly for days. But when from a hundred platforms and from many hundreds of pulpits Parnell had been attacked, when the Liberal Federation had declared against him and Liberal candidates refused to face the electors in co-operation with such a man, when every post brought letters of protest and denunciation, Gladstone could no longer hesitate.

Returning to London on the 24th of November, he saw Mr. Justin MacCarthy; Mr. Parnell had consulted him and even offered to resign his seat after the Phœnix Park murders; and Gladstone now expected some message from him, seeing that they were both working for Ireland, and in joint command of the Home Rule army. But Mr. MacCarthy knew nothing of

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[1] Davitt, p. 638.

[2] O'Brien, ii. 240.

[3] T. D. Sullivan, p. 285.

[4] Morley, ii. 670.

Parnell's intentions. The following day the Irish Party were to elect their sessional chairman, and Mr. Gladstone asked Mr. MacCarthy to warn Mr. Parnell of his (Gladstone's) views, that is, "if he should not find that Mr. Parnell contemplated spontaneous action"; and further he asked Mr. MacCarthy as a last resort to inform the Irish Party. Mr. Gladstone also addressed a letter to Mr. Morley asking him to communicate with Parnell. But the latter could not be found. The fact was, he had already resolved on his course and deliberately kept away. At the last moment, just as the Irish Party meeting was about being held, Mr. MacCarthy saw him and gave him Gladstone's message. Parnell, however, declared he would not retire, and a few minutes later he was unanimously elected sessional chairman. With a negligence which, in the light of subsequent events, might almost be called a crime, Mr. MacCarthy had not told the party of his interview with Mr. Gladstone, and they elected Parnell ignorant of what had been taking place behind the scenes.

On his side, though he had made every effort, Mr. Morley had been unable to see Mr. Parnell; nor did he see him till the meeting of the Irish Party had taken place. He then read him Mr. Gladstone's letter. But he found him obdurate. He expected, he said, to be attacked by Gladstone, and he thought it right that Gladstone's letter should be published—"it would set him right with his party"; but for himself, having been already elected chairman by the Irish Party, he would not retire even for a single day. If he retired at all he would retire for good. Mr. Morley urged in the kindest and gentlest manner, and as a personal friend, that a different course was best; but Parnell was not to be moved. Then, and only then, when remonstrance and entreaty and argument and appeal were seen to be in vain, it was decided by Mr. Gladstone to publish his letter. Those who were prompted by faction rather than by patriotism, by personal attachment rather than by principle, described the letter as English dictation. The terms of the letter are the best contradiction to this absurd and mischievous accusation. There was nothing to wound Mr.

Parnell's feelings, nothing by way of command. It was only the sentinel's cry from the watch-tower that all was not well, the pilot's warning that the ship was being hurried on the rocks. The letter was never meant to be made public if only Mr. Parnell had had the good sense and the patriotism to take it in the friendly spirit in which it was written. It recorded Mr. Gladstone's conviction that "notwithstanding the splendid services rendered by Mr. Parnell to his country, his continuance at the present moment in the leadership would be productive of consequences disastrous in the highest degree to the cause of Ireland." It would render Mr. Gladstone's retention of the Liberal leadership, "based as it has been mainly upon the promotion of the Irish cause, almost a nullity."[1]

The publication of this letter on the evening of the 25th filled the Irish Party with dismay. Had the existence of such a letter been known in time it would certainly have affected their decision in reference to the election to the chair. It was now plain that Parnell's leadership would mean the breaking up of the Liberal Alliance, on which the hopes of Home Rule depended; it was equally plain that Parnell had known of Gladstone's wishes and had deliberately disregarded them; that, therefore, he would continue in the leadership as long as he could; and that in fighting the battle out, as he evidently intended, his election to the chair had greatly strengthened his position. The situation, however, must be faced. A mistake of the worst kind had been made. But if a man finds that he has taken the wrong road, it is only a fool who will refuse to turn back. In obedience, then, to a requisition signed by several of the party, Mr. Parnell summoned a meeting on the 29th. The meeting was held in the House of Commons, in Committee Room No. 15, and this room soon became the centre of attraction for the political world, the proceedings of Parliament then sitting being in comparison completely ignored. Differences of opinion at once manifested themselves. Some wanted Parnell to retire without delay; others advised him to stick to his guns and stand no dictation from an English

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[1] Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 670-81,

Party leader. Parnell himself sat silent and listened. Quick to see that a majority of the party were against him, he wanted time to influence public opinion outside, and adjourned the meeting to Monday the 1st of December.[1] In the interval Mr. Davitt published an *Appeal to the Irish Race* to repudiate a leader who had not the patriotism to efface himself for his country's good. Messrs. Dillon, O'Brien and T. P. O'Connor cabled from America that they could no longer support a leader bent on destroying every chance of Home Rule. Dr. Croke, Archbishop of Cashel, and Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin, who had vainly advised his retirement in private, now spoke out publicly. The former declared that if Parnell remained the elections would be lost, the Irish Party damaged, and the public conscience outraged. And Dr. Walsh declared that the party that retained him as a leader "could no longer count upon the support, the co-operation and the confidence of the Bishops of Ireland." These two distinguished prelates merely anticipated the pronouncement of the whole episcopacy which soon followed, and in which Parnell was denounced as one who had attained "a scandalous pre-eminence in guilt and shame."[2]

Any other man would have bent before the storm, but there was no limit to Parnell's selfishness and pride. As he could not rule he would ruin the Irish cause, and on the 29th of November the newspapers contained a manifesto from him "To the People of Ireland." Charging a majority of his party with having their integrity and independence sapped by Liberal wire-pullers, he felt constrained to appeal from them to the people. Then he proceeded to divulge the substance of the private interviews he had had with Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley in the previous year, with reference to the next Home Rule Bill. The Irish members, he said, were to be retained at Westminster, but reduced in number to 32; the British

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[1] O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 256.

[2] *Annual Register*, p. 276; Stead's Article in *Review of Reviews*, December 1890; T. D. Sullivan's *Recollections*, pp. 298-9; copy of Bishops' Resolutions.

Parliament would make no serious effort to settle the Irish Land question, nor would the power to do so be given to the proposed Irish Parliament; the appointment of Irish judges would be reserved to the Imperial authority, and so also would the control of the Irish police, though the maintenance of the latter was to be from Irish funds. He told of Mr. Morley's despair of being able to do anything for the Plan of Campaign tenants. Finally, he told how Mr. Morley had suggested that Mr. Parnell himself should, in the next Home Rule Government, fill the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland, while one of the Irish National members should become one of the chief law officers of the Crown. Mr. Parnell was virtuously indignant at the iniquity of such a proposal, for his anxiety always had been to keep his party independent. "I do not believe," he said in conclusion, "that any action of the Irish people in supporting me will endanger the Home Rule cause, or postpone the establishment of an Irish Parliament; but even if the danger with which we are threatened by the Liberal Party of to-day were to be realized, I believe that the Irish people throughout the world would agree with me that postponement would be preferable to a compromise of our national rights by the acceptance of a measure which would not realize the aspirations of our race." Mr. Justin MacCarthy saw this manifesto on the night of the 28th, and implored Mr. Parnell not to publish it; but his remonstrances were unavailing, and on the following day it appeared. It was a discreditable document written by a desperate man; by a man whose heart had been hardened by long-continued sin.[1]

The attack on his Parliamentary colleagues came with specially bad grace from one who for years had notoriously neglected his Parliamentary duties; and the charge that their independence had been sapped was grossly unjust when applied to a party many of whom were poor, but not one of whom had accepted or solicited any Government office. Equally unjust and untrue were his accusations against Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley. Mr. Gladstone denied that he made the statements attributed to him, "or anything resembling them." What took place was a mere friendly interchange of views. "The conversation between us," he said, "was strictly confidential, and in my judgment, and, as I understood, in that of Mr. Parnell, to publish even a true account is to break the seal of confidence which alone renders political co-operation possible." Mr. Morley's denials were equally prompt and emphatic.[1] Nor was it forgotten that immediately after his interview with Mr. Gladstone in December 1889 Mr. Parnell had gone to Liverpool, where at a great public meeting he had lauded Mr. Gladstone to the skies. Calling him "our grand old leader," he bade his own countrymen rejoice, "for we are on the safe path for our legitimate freedom and our future prosperity."[2] If Gladstone was betraying Ireland this was not the language to use; and the man who did use it, and twelve months later denounced Gladstone whom he had praised, was not one to be trusted or believed.

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[1] O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 258-66.

These events rent the Irish Party in two. Against Mr. Parnell were arrayed its ablest men, those who had gone through the storm and stress of battle, and could point to important work done for Ireland. On the other hand, in the minority which clung to him, there was not a single man of first-class ability except Mr. John Redmond. Some were landlords who viewed with disfavour the recent rapid curtailment of landlord rights, and who in their hearts did not regret the break-up of a party which, when united, had been so powerful an instrument for reform. Others were Fenians imperfectly weaned from physical force weapons to constitutional action, and whose dominating idea was hatred of England. A good proportion were men of no political capacity, destitute alike of experience or foresight, men unable to distinguish between principles and catch-cries. Finally, a few of the more able, such as Mr. Redmond and Mr. Harrington, allowed their feelings to direct their course, and forgot their duty to Ireland in their personal attachment to Mr. Parnell. These would have eagerly welcomed his voluntary retirement.

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 240-42.

[2] Morley, ii. 687 note.

Even the majority had no desire to humiliate him. Grateful for his past services, they wished to treat him tenderly; jealous of his fame, they endeavoured to save him from himself. They appealed to him for the sake of Ireland; for the sake of the evicted tenants who would be left without homes and without hope. If only he would retire for six months they would leave the chair vacant for his return; and meantime he could leave the management of the party to a committee, every member of which could be appointed by himself. It was all in vain. Nothing could move him; nothing could serve to neutralize the effect of that fatal witchery which had darkened his intellect and completely dominated his will.[1]

In the long debates in Committee Room No. 15, the speaking on both sides was often of a high order. Mr. Parnell was in the chair, but he made little pretence of being impartial. He regarded the fight as a matter of life and death, and during these days showed infinite dexterity and resource. In oratory and debating power he was no match for such brilliant men as Mr. Sexton and Mr. Healy. But in using his position in the chair to help his friends, in discovering expedients for prolonging the debates and delaying a final decision, he often defeated their best efforts. From his own conduct, which was the cause of all the trouble that had arisen, he cleverly diverted attention to the conduct of the Liberal leaders, to the inconsistencies of members of the Irish Party, to the character of the next Home Rule Bill. He taunted his opponents with having first elected him and then turned on him at the bidding of an English statesman. He charged Mr. Healy with ingratitude, seeing that it was he himself who had first discovered Mr. Healy's genius and given him the opportunity of advancing in the world. He expressed his readiness to retire if only adequate assurances regarding the next Home Rule Bill could be got from the Liberal leaders. He professed entire disinterestedness, maintaining that his responsibility was to the Irish people, and his anxiety only about Ireland. At last, after days of wearisome and exhausting delay, when every expedient had been tried by

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[1] Davitt's *Fall of Feudalism*, p. 643.

Mr. Parnell, and when he stubbornly refused to take a vote, the majority of the party left Room No. 15. Retiring to an adjoining room, they elected Mr. MacCarthy sessional chairman, giving him a committee of the chief members as an Advisory Council. They were in all 45; counting the American delegates they were 50; the remainder, over 30 in number, clung to Mr. Parnell. He maintained that he was still chairman, not having been formally deposed; and he flung at his opponents the epithet of Seceders.[1]

The battle was then transferred to Ireland, where an opportunity had just arisen for testing the strength of the opposing hosts. Before the split a vacancy had occurred in the representation of North Kilkenny, and with Mr. Parnell's approval, the candidate selected was Sir John Pope Hennessy, a distinguished Corkman who had filled the position of Governor of the Mauritius and also of Hong Kong. As a Catholic he refused to follow Parnell after his condemnation by the Bishops, though he was still willing to stand as the Anti-Parnellite candidate. Mr. Parnell, who had declared that he would hunt the Seceders from public life, put up as his candidate Mr. Vincent Scully, a popular Tipperary landlord, and on the 10th of December arrived in Dublin to support his nominee. He had little doubt that he would be victorious, and undoubtedly the forces on his side were formidable. The *Freeman's Journal* threw its enormous influence into the scale in his favour, and day after day bitterly and unscrupulously attacked his opponents. Its evening and weekly editions, circulating in every town and village in the land, were on the same side. *United Ireland*, established by Nationalist funds, Mr. Parnell also captured. Accompanied by a boisterous mob he broke into the offices, crowbar in hand, nor was any attempt made to stop him by the police. All Dublin was with him. Mr. Healy and Mr. Sexton, on landing at Kingstown from England, were watched and in imminent danger, and as they walked the streets of Dublin they carried their lives in their hands. The National

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[1] The "Parnell Split," from the *Times*, 1891; *The Story of Room Fifteen*, by Donal Sullivan, M.P.

League, controlled by the Parnellite Mr. Harrington, was also obedient to the duly-elected chairman of the Irish Party. And when Mr. Parnell addressed a meeting at the Rotunda, his reception by an enormous crowd was a scene of wild enthusiasm. He told his immense audience that what Dublin said to-day, Ireland would say to-morrow; and as he passed southward to Cork, on his way to Kilkenny, he was met at every wayside station by cheering crowds.[1] His main reliance was on the Fenians. They had little love for him while he was chief of a great constitutional party, for he had won over many from their ranks to constitutional ways. But when he was bent on substituting division for unity, and so discrediting all Parliamentary effort, they flocked to him and fought his battles. And in Kilkenny and elsewhere they organized his meetings and intimidated his opponents. The soldiers of Napoleon, when entering on a new campaign, laughed at the idea of defeat, and at Kilkenny an equal confidence was shown by the supporters of Mr. Parnell. The editor of the *Freeman's Journal* boasted to an Anti-Parnellite that they had the Chief, the funds, the press, "and we will knock hell out of you."[2]

The Chief was indeed worth much. His activity and vigour were astonishing. He passed from one end of the constituency to the other like a whirlwind, smiting his opponents as he passed. He attacked Pope Hennessy; he called Healy a scoundrel and a traitor, Davitt a jackdaw, Dillon a peacock, and others the scum of creation.[3] The *Freeman's Journal* reported all his speeches fully, and supported him by every lying tale which it could invent. *United Ireland*, under its Parnellite management, published a cartoon of Davitt receiving a bag of gold from perfidious Albion, while Erin, stricken with grief, shaded her eyes rather than look on at this deed of shame. The landlords and agents everywhere gave their good wishes to Parnell, and on the same side were the bailiffs and grabbers; the policeman who was wont freely to use his baton; the publican who wanted more elections and more faction fights so that his whisky and porter would be the more liberally consumed; and the public sinner who had perhaps felt the chastising hand of the Church and wished to be revenged upon the priest. On the other hand, Davitt and Healy fought well, and with the intimate knowledge they possessed they were able to expose the false statements of their opponents. The priests called on the people to forsake an impenitent adulterer, and to vindicate the good name of Ireland, and rescue their country from one who was bent on hurrying it to destruction. And a little paper, *The Insuppressible*, published at the *Nation* office, combated the best efforts of the *Freeman* and *United Ireland*. When the poll was declared, 2527 had voted for Hennessy, and only 1367 for his opponent.[1] Nor did the Parnellite candidate at Sligo in April fare much better, though the majority in this second contest was not so sweeping[2] as at Kilkenny.

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[1] O'Brien, ii. 290-8; *Annual Register*, p. 276.

[2] Healy, *Why Ireland is not Free*, p. 33.

[3] Healy, p. 34.

After the events of Committee Room No. 15, Mr. Healy had at no time any faith in negotiating with Mr. Parnell. He believed the best course was to fight him. If it did not bring him to reason, at least resolute opposition and continued defeat would thin the ranks of his adherents. Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien did not take this view. They were specially responsible for the Plan of Campaign tenants, and knew that disunion would mean these tenants' ruin; and for this reason among others Mr. O'Brien started for Europe in December, hoping by a personal interview with Mr. Parnell to effect a settlement. As there was a warrant out for his arrest, he could not touch British territory. He therefore went to France, and at Boulogne had several interviews with Mr. Parnell. Mr. O'Brien is of a sanguine temperament, and at that time must have had a large amount of faith in his own capacity if he thought he could change Parnell. His proposals were indeed strange. The Irish Bishops were to retract their condemnation of Parnell, Mr. Gladstone to withdraw his letter to Morley, Mr.

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[1] O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 299-309; Healy, p. 34.

[2] *Annual Register*, p. 240.

MacCarthy to retire from the chair and be succeeded by Mr. Dillon, and Mr. Parnell to remain President of the National League. Mr. Parnell was an eminently practical man, and knew well that these proposals were impracticable. He was, however, though unwilling to yield to Mr. Dillon, quite willing to retire from the chair in favour of Mr. O'Brien. But in this case Mr. O'Brien must get satisfactory assurances on the Irish question from Mr. Gladstone ; the decision as to the assurances being satisfactory to remain with Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Parnell himself. In January Mr. Dillon came from America to aid his friend, Mr. O'Brien, and ultimately he was selected as Mr. Parnell's successor. But the latter was dissatisfied with the assurances got from the Liberal leaders by Mr. MacCarthy and Mr. Sexton,[1] and, after dragging along for more than six weeks, the Boulogne negotiations ended in failure. Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien then returned to Ireland to serve their six months' imprisonment in Galway Jail.

In entering prison both gentlemen wrote public letters. Mr. O'Brien stated that a satisfactory settlement had been shipwrecked by a mere contest about words and phrases. But he did not say who was to blame, nor on which side his sympathies lay in the struggle between Parnell and his opponents. Mr. Dillon was equally vague. He spoke, however, with great severity of the vindictive and brutal manner in which Mr. Parnell had been assailed, presumably by Mr. Healy. And he recorded his conviction that a satisfactory arrangement could have been arrived at had not powerful influences on both sides intervened. Both gentlemen were clearly anxious for peace, and had laboured to bring it about. But the fact was that they were overmatched by Mr. Parnell. His biographer records how he regarded Mr. O'Brien's going to Hawarden and negotiating with Mr. Gladstone as a grim joke.

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[1] *Annual Register*, p. 238. Mr. Gladstone promised to have the Land question settled by the Imperial Parliament simultaneously with the passing of a Home Rule Bill or within a limited period, or failing this, to give the Irish Parliament power to settle it ; the police were to come under control of the Irish authority within five years.

Nor is there any reason to doubt that his object was to spread confusion among his opponents; to have Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien quarrel with Mr. Healy, and perhaps quarrel with one another; and in addition to have the Anti-Parnellites quarrel with the English Liberals.[1]

While election contests were being fought in Ireland and peace negotiations were in progress at Boulogne, Parliament was sitting. The Unionist promises at the General Election of 1886 that their alternative to Home Rule would be justice to Ireland and equal laws with those of Great Britain, had hitherto taken the shape of Coercion, and of some vague but unfulfilled promises of reform in the Queen's Speeches. But the collapse of the *Times*' forgeries and the loss of so many by-elections warned them not to rely entirely on Coercion; and in the winter session of 1890 measures were taken to cope with the recent failure of the potato crop; money was voted for the building of Irish railways; and an Irish Land Purchase Bill and a Congested Districts Bill were introduced. Both these latter measures passed in the session of 1891. Under the Land Purchase Act a sum of £30,000,000 was voted to enable the tenants to buy their holdings, the money to be repaid—principal and interest—by annual instalments extending over a period of forty-nine years. To provide against any possible repudiations on the part of the tenants there was a Guarantee Fund, made up of moneys voted from the General Taxation Fund for local purposes. The Bill was objected to by the Liberals because these local grants were hypothecated without the consent of any of the local authorities. And the Liberals recalled with damaging effect the Unionist attack on Land Purchase in 1886. Nevertheless the Bill passed rapidly through all its stages, and without serious amendment either in Lords or Commons.[2] Under the second Act a Congested Districts Board was set up, not under the control of Dublin Castle, and yet nominated rather than elected. Provided with an annual income, it was to deal with the congested districts in the West, to improve the breed of live-stock, to teach the peasants better methods of tillage, to improve their dwellings, to help them to drain and fence, to give a helping hand to struggling local industries, to acquire untenanted land to which the poorer tenants might be migrated, and thus would congestion be relieved. In spite of the fact that the members of the Board were unpaid and had but a limited income, valuable work has been done. For this three members of the Board[1] deserve special thanks. Sir Horace Plunkett was an expert on economic questions, and, though a landlord, had popular sympathies. Dr. O'Donnell, the Bishop of Raphoe, had the deep love for the people that always characterized his ancestors, the ancient chiefs of Tyrconnell, and to high intellectual culture united a thoroughly practical mind. No one knew better than Father Denis O'Hara, P.P., the conditions of the poor in the congested districts of Mayo. Gifted with abilities of the highest order, genial, unassuming, gentle and kind, his zeal for the people had no taint of selfishness or vanity. He knew exactly what they wanted and how their condition might best be improved, and he spared neither time nor labour on their behalf. In character and intellect there is no higher type of Irish priest, and if the Congested Districts Board became popular, it was chiefly because it had among its members two such men as Father O'Hara and Dr. O'Donnell.

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[1] O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 311-27; Healy, pp. 33-42; *Annual Register*, pp. 25-28, 237-8.

[2] *Annual Register*, 1890, pp. 254-5; 1891, pp. 105-9, 143-4.

In Parliament Mr. Parnell supported the measures of the Government. On the Land Purchase Bill he voted against the Liberals,[2] and on more than one occasion crossed swords with the Liberal leaders and with the Anti-Parnellites, especially with Mr. Healy.[3] But his chief anxiety was about Irish public opinion, and week after week he crossed over from England to hold Sunday meetings in Ireland. His speeches at these meetings were always in the same strain. The Liberals he called wolves, and Gladstone he called a "grand old spider." He heaped abuse on the Anti-Parnellite members, whom he described as sold to an English party and betraying Ireland in Parliament. He taunted the Bishops with holding back till Gladstone had spoken, and with following the lead of the Nonconformists. He appealed to the Fenians everywhere, and at every meeting he was supported by their cheers and by their sticks. Strong in the possession of the only National organization, he was provided with agents in every village and town. Backed strongly by the *Freeman's Journal* and *United Ireland*, he had means of influencing public opinion which his opponents did not possess. Yet as time passed he was distinctly losing ground. The defeat at Kilkenny was a bad beginning and greatly depressed the spirits of his supporters, who were still further disheartened by the loss of Sligo. The reckless charges against the Liberals and Anti-Parnellites were contradicted by obvious facts ; and the insulting epithets flung at the great name of Gladstone were in every way unworthy of Parnell, and disgusted his best friends.[1] As for the charges against the Bishops, the delay was at the worst prompted only by tenderness for Parnell and out of gratitude for his past services. Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin, had been solemnly assured by Mr. Davitt that Parnell was innocent, and had been given this assurance on the authority of Parnell himself. When it appeared that the Archbishop had been deceived, because Davitt, his informant, had been deceived, it was no easy matter to get the Bishops together. Three of them were in Rome and had to be communicated with ; even those at home lived far apart, and some far from Dublin ; and it is certain that had they come together at once and condemned Parnell, they would have been attacked as eager for his destruction, because they were jealous of his power.[2]

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[1] The members were appointed by the Liberal Government, for the Act did not come into operation till the Tories were turned out at the General Election of 1892.

[2] *Annual Register*, 1890.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1891, p. 107.

As to the National League, its power rapidly diminished, especially after March 1891, when a great National Convention was held in Dublin, and the National Federation, with the hearty good wishes of bishops and priests, was formed.[3]

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[1] O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 335-6.

[2] *Annual Register*, p. 242.

[3] *Ibid.* 239.

Nor did the *Freeman's Journal* continue Parnellite. A new Nationalist organ, *The National Press*, was founded by public subscription, and so vigorously assailed the *Freeman* that diminished circulation was the result. Mr. Parnell married Mrs. O'Shea in June, and this was given by the chief shareholders in the *Freeman* as the cause of its change of front. But whatever truth there may have been in this, it is certain that Mr. Parnell's marriage lost him the support of tens of thousands of the farmers. Until then they obstinately refused to believe him guilty; but for a Catholic who believes in the indissolubility of Christian marriage, the union of Parnell with the wife of a living man was certain proof of his guilt. As to the Fenians, they were and remained his enthusiastic supporters. But most of them were young and had no votes, and no amount of cheering and violence unaccompanied by voting power will carry contested elections. And now other events besides these enumerated served to dishearten Parnell. His candidate for the vacant seat at Carlow was disastrously beaten, and more than this, Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien, on their release from prison, declared definitely and emphatically against him. Mr. O'Brien went so far as to excuse the violence with which Parnell had hitherto been fought, by declaring that it was impossible to fight him with sugar-sticks.

In spite of all these things Parnell refused to yield. In place of the *Freeman's Journal*, which had deserted him, he established the *Irish Daily Independent*. He strove to give courage and confidence to his friends by holding a National League Convention,[1] and he still professed to be confident of final victory. But this confidence he probably did not feel. The weekly meetings were continued, but they were followed only by lessened enthusiasm and continued defeats. At last, under the strain of disappointment and excitement, and travelling in all sorts of weather, his health began to fail. It had not been good for some years before this date. In 1891 it got worse. In the end of September, cold and exposure brought on an attack of rheumatism, and on the 7th of October his stormy career was closed. He died at Brighton, and on the following Sunday, the 11th of October, his remains arrived in Ireland and were borne through the streets of Dublin to their last resting-place in Glasnevin. Rarely has such a numerously-attended funeral been seen. Crowds came from all parts of the country by special trains, the calculations being that fully 200,000 persons either followed the hearse or were spectators along the route.[1] Yet it was not a national funeral, and in spite of the enormous crowds and the genuine sorrow, the end of Parnell was a tragedy, with scarce a parallel in Irish history, so many of the pages of which are blotted by tears. Dying one year earlier, the whole Irish race would have wept at his open grave. But the events of the last year had alienated from him the affections of millions, for it was realized that if, like Moses, he had led his people in sight of the promised land, unlike Moses, he had endeavoured to lead them back again into the desert. With his own hands he had deliberately pulled down the pillars of the temple he had reared. Yet with all his faults he looms large among the greatest of Ireland's sons. It would be as vain to deny him greatness as it would to belittle the Amazon or the Mississippi, or to deny that Mont Blanc towers high among its fellows. In patience and foresight, in tenacity of purpose and strength of will, we must, to find his equal, go back to Hugh O'Neill or Brian Boru. If we are estimating the qualities which go to make a great constitutional leader, a great orator and debater, who could move millions of men and with equal readiness rouse or calm their passions, we must declare Parnell immeasurably inferior to O'Connell. But in appreciation of facts, in adjusting means to the desired end, in choosing the best time and place to attack his enemies, and in selecting suitable instruments for the work he had to do, even O'Connell must yield him the premier place. Not yet, less than a quarter of a century after his death, can full justice be done to him; for the faults of his later years, and the national evils which they caused, are vividly and bitterly remembered still. But when the last Irish landlord has disappeared, and with him the multiplied evils of Irish landlordism; when brighter and better days have come for an afflicted land that has long sat within the shadows, Irishmen will then think of the man who struck such vigorous blows on their behalf; and while a grateful and generous nation will remember the services of Parnell, his faults and his failings will be forgotten.

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[1] *Annual Register*, p. 244.

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[1] *Annual Register.*

CHAPTER XVII

Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites

SELDOM has dissension wrought such havoc in Ireland as in the year preceding the death of Parnell. Within that period the Irish Party was broken up; the great organization of the National League fell into ruin; the Irish abroad, who had subscribed so generously to the National cause, ceased to subscribe further, disgusted with the Irish at home. Every city and town and village was torn by discord; even families ranged themselves on opposite sides—brother fighting against brother, father against son. Local leaders, long tried by sacrifice and long trusted, fell into disfavour, and instead of being cheered were hooted and groaned. Priests who had stood by the people in dark days were attacked and sometimes stoned; their words unheeded when spoken from the pulpit or from the platform; their churches made scenes of disorder by men who turned their backs on the sacrifice of the mass, cheering excitedly for Parnell. Such was the sense of impotence among those but lately full of hope and courage, that the Campaign tenants of Smith Barry hastened to make terms with their landlords, and leaving the mushroom town in which they dwelt, they returned to the houses in Tipperary which they had so recklessly abandoned.[1] Grieved at the dreary outlook, growing every day still more drear, Dr. Walsh, the Archbishop of Dublin, appealed to the people in a public letter to close up their ranks. "I am deeply convinced," he said, "that the continuance of this ruinous conflict, even for a little longer, must be absolutely detrimental to every hope of the establishment of Home Rule for Ireland, at all events within the present century. To me it is one of the most obvious truths of the present deplorable situation that the fitness of our people for Home Rule, and indeed for constitutional government of any kind, is on its trial, and that so far the evidence of that fitness is somewhat less clear than it ought to be." These weighty words were disregarded by those who ought to have paused and listened. Nor had Parnell any more suitable reply than to describe the Archbishop's appeal as child's talk, and the greatest nonsense.[1]

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[1] *Annual Register*, p. 243.

With the death of the unfortunate leader it was hoped that wiser counsels would prevail among his followers. Hitherto the conduct of the Parnellite members of Parliament had been open to the severest censure. They had joined with Mr. Parnell in calumniating every one who presumed to differ from them; they had assailed the clergy with virulence and without restraint; they had repeated Mr. Parnell's charges—false as they knew them to be—against their late colleagues in Parliament; they had agreed with him in calling the Liberals wolves and Mr. Gladstone "a grand old spider"; and they had encouraged Mr. Parnell to persevere in his reckless course, which ended for him so disastrously. Had they tried to hold him back; had they advised and remonstrated, and when advice and remonstrance were found useless, had they sternly told him, as Mr. Sexton did, that even *his* services to Ireland did not entitle him to effect Ireland's ruin; had they, when all else failed, refused to follow him, they would probably have saved him from himself. He was reckless; but, reckless as he was, he could have made no fight if deserted by all his Parliamentary colleagues, and must have yielded to necessity, no matter how reluctant he was to yield to reason. A little foresight, a little courage, some consideration for poor Ireland and her cause were all that were required, and the fame and even life of a great leader would have been saved as he rushed recklessly down the abyss. One of the ablest of the Parnellites, and one of the most respected, declared he could not desert Parnell because to do so would be to submit to English dictation; it would be to destroy the unity of the Irish Party and the Irish race; it would be an act of national dishonour. Lastly, he believed Parnell would win.[1] It is hard to believe that the parrot cry of English dictation, though it might have deceived men of shallow understanding, could have seriously influenced a man of Mr. Clancy's ability. Nor could it be an act of national dishonour for a religious and moral race to have deserted a man who had grievously and shamelessly sinned, and yet who refused to admit that he had sinned at all, and who scoffed at the notion of making any atonement for what he had done.

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 243-4.

It was perhaps the last of Mr. Clancy's reasons, the belief, namely, that Parnell would win, which must have influenced most of the Parnellites. Fascinated by his extraordinary qualities, they thought him invincible, and were satisfied that his triumph over all his opponents would be but a matter of time. But when the grave was opened to receive him the time had surely come to pause. In three separate contested elections the Parnellites had already been beaten, and this under the leadership, active and brilliant, of Parnell himself. When Parnell was gone, what chance was there that the fortunes of the party might be retrieved? Men of ability there were among his colleagues, but not one with the prestige of his services, none with his capacity to conduct a campaign, none with his grim tenacity and iron will. And yet with a reckless and criminal folly not often equalled they rejected all offers of reconciliation with their late colleagues. The vast majority of the Anti-Parnellites would have given them as genuine a welcome back as the father in the Gospel gave to his prodigal son. The bitter things said would have been soon forgotten, the evil passions roused would have subsided; the nation would have generously forgiven in the joy of once more seeing unity in the national ranks. But the Parnellites had not the humility to acknowledge any error, nor the public spirit to retrace their steps, nor the generosity to shake hands with old colleagues over a great man's open grave. Bitterness in their hearts and blasphemies on their lips, they declared that Parnell had been done to death by Irishmen who had deserted him, and that they would not consort with murderers. Feeling ran so high that the Anti-Parnellite members of Parliament dared not attend the dead leader's funeral. Mr. Dillon was attacked in the streets of Dublin by men who shouted, "Down with Dillon the murderer."[1] Other prominent men were treated with similar brutality. Nor did the Parnellite members of Parliament delay in issuing a collective manifesto repudiating and denouncing the men "who, in obedience to foreign dictation, have loaded with calumny and hounded to death the foremost man of the Irish race."[2] With such men, of course, they could not coalesce, and resolving to continue the fight, they elected Mr. John Redmond their leader. He began badly, however, for having resigned his seat in Wexford to contest Parnell's seat in Cork, he was defeated. A few weeks later he was consoled. Mr. Power, M.P. for the City of Waterford, died, and Mr. Redmond, who was opposed by Mr. Davitt as Anti-Parnellite candidate, was returned by a substantial majority.[3] At the close of the year, therefore, as at the beginning, discord ruled in Ireland, and the outlook did not brighten with the dawn of the new year.

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[1] Mr. J. J. Clancy, M.P., in *Contemporary Review*, March 1891.

The fact was that there was serious dissension among the Anti-Parnellites, and that party, instead of attracting the Parnellites, threatened to split in two. The trouble was caused by the conflicting views of Mr. Healy and Mr. Dillon.

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[1] T. D. Sullivan, pp. 314-17.

[2] *Annual Register*, p. 246; T. D. Sullivan's *Recollections*, pp. 318-19. *United Ireland* wrote: "Shake hands over his grave. Nay, poor fools; poor, wretched, creeping, wriggling reptiles; rather than do this thing we should prefer to give Ireland to the Saxon, once and for all, unreservedly, unblushingly, in the light of day; we should prefer to sell her to the Saxon like honest brokers, strike our bargain in the market-place, and leave it to other men and other times to vindicate our country."

[3] *Annual Register*, p. 247.

Both were able and determined and not easily restrained; and Mr. MacCarthy, unlike Mr. Parnell, was quite unable to keep them in check. Had Mr. Sexton been appointed chairman instead of Mr. MacCarthy it might have been better. Even the ablest among the Anti-Parnellites could not have denied his fitness for the position, looking to Parliamentary experience and ability. As an orator and debater he was second only to Mr. Gladstone; nor was he ever found unequal to the occasion when suddenly called upon to address the House of Commons. A further recommendation in his favour was that he had not abused Mr. Parnell. He had patiently and with dignity borne with the abuse heaped upon him by the fallen leader, but he had been unwilling to strike back; and in the campaign in Ireland he had taken no part. He had, in fact, effaced himself, and while the country stood badly in need of his leadership, he would not lead. The result was that the hardest fighting had to be done by Mr. Healy; and while Dillon and O'Brien were in prison, it was Healy who led the Anti-Parnellite forces. He led them with conspicuous ability, for his fighting qualities were not inferior to those of Parnell, and Healy had the advantage of being in the right, while Parnell was just as clearly in the wrong. It is highly probable that the Parnellites would have won at Kilkenny and Sligo and Carlow had they not had to encounter Mr. Healy. He took a leading part in the founding of the *National Press* and of the National Federation; and in the trying months after the split, Mr. Healy, without a thought of himself or of his interests, met every opponent and faced every danger. Fascinated by his splendid abilities, the younger clergy were all on his side, as were the ablest men in the Parliamentary party; the Catholic Bishops were grateful for the way in which he had championed their teaching; and the local leaders, despairing of converting the Parnellites, were delighted with a leader who could fight so well. Not a few thought then and subsequently that he would have been the best selection for the leadership. Parnell, who had no love for him, declared that he had "the best political head" of all the Irish Parliamentarians.[1] No lawyer since O'Connell was readier-witted in the Law Courts, no man in the House of Commons was listened to with greater interest; for he was always master of his subject, and had always something fresh to say. He could obstruct as skilfully as Parnell, while his capacity for the practical work of legislation was far beyond that of Parnell. To draft a Bill or a clause he had no equal in his own party, and in the years he was in Parliament there was no measure dealing with Ireland which he did not amend and improve. Like Parnell he could be silent when silence was better than speech; he was patient and tenacious, and always looked for practical results. These great qualities were marred by serious defects. His temper was hot, his tongue was bitter, his sarcasm scathing, he said things which rankled and were not forgotten; nor was there any of their opponents with whom the Parnellites were so enraged. If, therefore, some thought Mr. Healy the most capable man to lead, many others convinced themselves that under his leadership unity and peace would be impossible.

Mr. Dillon was among the latter class. The relations between the two men had not been cordial, and each did the other injustice. Mr. Healy greatly underrated Dillon's abilities, which are very far above the ordinary; while Mr. Dillon dwelt too much on Healy's selfishness and ambition. The fact was that Mr. Healy seems to have never had any desire to be Irish leader. Mr. Dillon, however, thought he had, and whether he had or not, he thought that too much power was in his hands. He considered Mr. Healy's policy of combat to be exasperating to the Parnellites and fatal to all hope of unity; and he considered that his continued reliance on the clergy would arouse the slumbering bigotry of British Nonconformity, and thus gravely injure the cause of Home Rule. As an alternative Mr. Dillon's own programme was to win over the Parnellites by kindness and conciliation, to end the ruinous newspaper war between the *Freeman's Journal* and the *National Press*, and to substitute some strong man, perhaps himself, for Mr.

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[1] O'Brien's *Parnell*, ii. 334.

MacCarthy as chairman of the Irish Party. Though by no means anti-clerical, Mr. Dillon had at no time hesitated to criticize the Catholic clergy if he thought their action open to criticism ; he had openly assailed the Bishop of Limerick ; and a party under his lead, and which included Parnellites as well as Anti-Parnellites, would certainly not be open to the accusation of being a clerical party. With the newspapers Mr. Dillon's difficulties were not great. Mr. Gray, the leading *Freeman* shareholder, was quite willing to abjure Parnellism and join with the *National Press*, if only under the new arrangement the Parnellites were not to be marked out for destruction, if Mr. Healy's policy of the "tomahawk and the sweeping brush" were to be abandoned. But the *National Press* shareholders, whether Mr. Healy liked it or not, insisted that on the new Board of Directors they should be adequately represented. On this question much was said and written. Messrs. Healy, Murphy and Dickson had been Directors of the *National Press*, and under the new arrangement became Directors of the *Freeman* and *National Press*. They offered a seat on the Board to Mr. Dillon, making him also chairman, but he declined unless seats were also given to Messrs. Sexton and O'Brien, on the grounds that otherwise his views would not be represented sufficiently in the columns of the *Freeman* and *National Press*, and that Mr. Healy would be the dictator of its language and its policy.[1] Ultimately it was agreed that when the legal difficulties regarding the amalgamation of the newspapers had been finally got over—and this took some time—Mr. Dillon and Mr. Sexton and another nominated by Mr. MacCarthy were to be appointed Directors, so that in this matter Mr. Dillon had his way.[2] His friends insisted on nominating him for the Chair against Mr. MacCarthy, though he was not successful.[3] But he was able to have the Committee of the party appoint himself, Mr. Sexton and Mr. MacCarthy Treasurers and Trustees of the party funds, and in this way Mr. Healy was left out in the cold. Nor did Mr. Dillon succeed in winning over the Parnellites. On his release from prison (July 1891), their language was so violent that he declared against ever opening negotiations with them ; and their language was still more violent at the death of Parnell. Later on Mr. Dillon again became hopeful, and in February 1892 he opened up negotiations with the Parnellites only to be again repulsed ; and he was equally unsuccessful in the following June. On this latter occasion difficulties came from his own side ; for Mr. Dillon was willing to hand over a large number of seats to the Parnellites, but the Anti-Parnellites as a whole refused to support him in this.[1] And yet it is impossible to withhold sympathy for Mr. Dillon, for unity would have been cheaply purchased at the sacrifice of a few seats to the Parnellites.

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[1] Healy, pp. 60-64. [2] *Ibid.* 67-71. [3] *Ibid.* 55.

While these disputes went on between rival newspapers and rival politicians, Parliament sat, and an Irish Local Government Bill was introduced by Mr. Balfour in the session of 1892. Meagre, halting and stingy, the measure was altogether different from the Acts recently passed for England and Scotland. The County and Barony Councils to be set up would be partly elective and partly nominated, and seriously hampered in the exercise of their powers. Evidently assuming that they would be corrupt bodies, Mr. Balfour, to check their prospective extravagance, inserted a clause giving power to any twenty cess-payers to arraign the Council before two Judges. In case of guilt being established to the satisfaction of these Judges, the Council could be dissolved and be replaced by one constituted by the Lord-Lieutenant. Alone among prominent public men, Mr. Chamberlain praised this pitiful Bill ; even Mr. Balfour himself felt no enthusiasm for it. By the Irish Party and the Liberal leaders it was fiercely assailed. Mr. Sexton attacked it as an insult to the Irish people, an affront both to Parliament and to the nation ; Mr. Gladstone called it a miserable Bill ; and Mr. Healy described the provision for enabling a body of cess-payers to arraign and even dissolve the Council as the "put 'em in the dock clause."[2] In spite of all this adverse criticism the Bill passed its second reading by a substantial majority. It was, however, abandoned by the Government in June ; and the Unionists, after six years of office, had to confess that they had done nothing to redeem their pledges of 1886.[1]

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[1] T. D. Sullivan, p. 323.

[2] Davitt's *Fall of Feadalism*, p. 664.

Then in July came the General Election. The ability and influence of Mr. Gladstone had kept Home Rule to the front, and it was on that question that the issue would be decided. Two years before there was no doubt as to the direction in which the tide was flowing. The fall of Parnell and the unhappy events which followed were for a time a formidable obstacle; but in 1892 the obstacle had ceased to be effective, and there was no doubt that with Gladstone was the flowing tide. And this was the case in spite of the determined efforts of Unionist writers and orators. Professor Dicey was eloquent in defence of the Union and in giving expression to the protest of Ulster. He doubted if Gladstone would have such a majority as would carry a Home Rule Bill in the House of Commons, but if he should, the Unionists as a last resort should fall back on the House of Lords. For he thought it intolerable that the loyal Protestants of Ulster should be placed under the rule of men found guilty of intimidation, conspiracy and crime; and playing the rôle of prophet of evil, he declared that Home Rule in Ireland would mean civil war in Ulster.[2] Lord Salisbury not only predicted that civil war would come, but plainly intimated that it ought to come, and would be amply justified. He did not believe in the unrestricted power of the British Parliament; and if it insisted on setting up an Irish Parliament, he was confident that the Ulstermen had not lost "their sturdy love of freedom or their detestation of arbitrary power."[3] Mr. Chamberlain was equally solicitous about the maintenance of Ulster Protestant ascendancy, and equally clear as to the right of Ulster to rebel.[4] And the Ulster Unionists held a great Convention at Belfast in June, in which strong language was used and strong resolutions passed. "We record," they said, "our determination to have nothing to do with a Parliament certain to be controlled by men responsible for the crime and outrage of the Land League, the dishonesty of the Plan of Campaign, and the cruelties of boycotting, many of whom have shown themselves the ready instruments of clerical domination; and we declare to the people of Great Britain our conviction that the attempt to set up such a Parliament in Ireland will inevitably result in disorder, violence and bloodshed such as has not been experienced in this century, and announce our resolve to take no part in the election or proceedings of such a Parliament, the authority of which, should it ever be constituted, we shall be forced to repudiate."[1] All this, however, did not produce the desired effect on public opinion. The prophecies of Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain were discounted by the arguments of the Liberal leaders; and every one knew that the threats of Ulster were nothing but sound and fury.

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 21-26, 85-91, 105.

[2] Articles in *Contemporary Review*, April and July 1892.

[3] *Annual Register*, p. 70. [4] *Ibid.* 53, 93.

The quarrels among the Irish Nationalists were more disheartening to the Irish at home and abroad, and certainly discouraged the friends of Ireland in Great Britain. Why the minority could not agree with the majority nobody not blinded by faction could understand. Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites were equally in favour of Home Rule, and should have been equally ready to strengthen Mr. Gladstone's hands. Instead of this the Parnellites uttered nothing but threats against their late colleagues, and had nothing but insults for Mr. Gladstone. They maintained that Irish National opinion was all on their side, and so confident were they that they contested almost every Nationalist seat. The more reckless of them boasted that they would win 50 seats, which would mean the annihilation of their opponents; the more cautious of them counted on a gain of 20 seats. In either case they would have a majority over the Anti-Parnellites, and to bring about this result they spared no form of intimidation and violence. But it was disaster rather than victory that attended their efforts, and when the elections were over 72 Anti-Parnellites and but 9 Parnellites had been returned. Five Nationalist seats had been lost to the Unionists, these including the loss of Derry City and West Belfast.

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[1] Note to Professor Dicey's article of July 1892.

The results in Great Britain were disappointing. Immediately before the General Election the enormous Unionist majority of 1886 had dwindled down to 66; and according to the results of the by-elections there should have been after the elections a Home Rule majority of 120. The *Pall Mall Gazette* expected a majority of 94; the *Times* expected 48; Mr. Gladstone expected 100. Instead of this there was but a majority of 40, counting Parnellites, on the Home Rule side. There were thus 355 Home Rulers—274 Liberals and 81 Nationalists; while the Unionists numbered 315, of whom 269 were Conservatives and 46 Liberal Unionists. For the Home Rulers one of the most disagreeable facts was that Birmingham went solid for Mr. Chamberlain, the ablest and most relentless of their opponents. And it was also of ill omen that both Mr. Morley at Newcastle and Mr. Gladstone at Midlothian were returned by greatly reduced majorities. If, on the one hand, there was a collapse of Parnellism, on the other hand the triumph of Birmingham was equally shown. And the House of Lords would be sure to note that the Unionists had a majority of 71 in England, and of 15 in Great Britain, and that if Home Rule obtained a majority in the House of Commons it would necessarily be by Irish votes.[1]

Mr. Gladstone was deeply mortified. He counted on having at his command such a majority as would strike terror into the House of Lords, and compel its acquiescence, as in the case of the disestablishment of the Irish Church. It was probable that some timid British voters had been frightened by the bogie of an Ulster civil war, and that others had been cajoled by Mr. Chamberlain. But Mr. Gladstone himself laid the blame on Irish dissension. "Until the schism arose," he said to Mr. Morley, "we had every prospect of a majority approaching those of 1868 and 1880. With the death of Mr. Parnell it was supposed that it must perforce close. But the expectation has been disappointed. The existence and working of it have to no small extent puzzled and bewildered the English people. They cannot comprehend how a quarrel, to them utterly unintelligible, should be allowed to divide the host in the face of the enemy; and their unity and zeal have been deadened in proportion. Herein we see the main cause why our majority is not more than double what it actually numbers, and the difference between these two scales of majority, as I apprehend, is the difference between power to carry the Bill as the Church and Land Bills were carried into law and the default of such power."[1] There were, in fact, many Liberals who thought that Mr. Gladstone should not take office at all, and if he did that he should not introduce a Home Rule Bill, which might not pass the House of Commons and would be certain of defeat in the House of Lords. But Mr. Gladstone had devoted the closing years of his great career to Ireland, and had already satisfied the Irish leaders, Messrs. MacCarthy, Dillon, Healy and Sexton,[2] that a Home Rule Bill would be introduced. When, therefore, Parliament met in August a vote of censure was moved from the Liberal side and carried; the Unionists resigned, and Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister for the fourth and last time.[3] Mr. Morley again became Chief Secretary for Ireland, Sir William Harcourt Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Cabinet included also Lords Spencer, Herschell and Rosebery, and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman. One notable addition was made in the person of Mr. Asquith, a brilliant young lawyer, who became Home Secretary. Without much delay a new Home Rule Bill was elaborated, and on the 13th February following it was introduced by Mr. Gladstone.[4]

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 117-22; Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 731-4; Mr. Stead in *Contemporary Review* for August 1892.

For two hours and a quarter the great statesman spoke in a House filled to overflowing, every seat occupied, every gallery full; and he spoke with an eloquence and a convincing force marvellous in one of his years.[5] His Bill, like that of 1886, provided for the establishment of an Irish Parliament with an executive dependent on it. Provision was also made to safeguard Imperial unity, equality between the different nations making up the United Kingdom, the equitable repartition of Imperial burdens, and protection of minorities; and the settlement was to be, if not final, at least "a real and continuing settlement." But while the Bills of 1886 and 1893 thus agreed in principle, they differed somewhat in matters of detail. Instead of two orders sitting together, the new Bill set up a Legislative Council of 48 elected by those rated at £20 or upwards, and a Legislative Assembly elected by existing voters—these two Houses to sit separately. The Legislative Council was specially representative of property, and therefore meant to guard against hasty or ill-considered legislation. But though it might delay, it could not prevent the passing of Bills, and if the Assembly sent up a Bill a second time, after an interval of two years, or after a General Election, the Council could not reject, and must then sit with the Assembly, a majority of both Houses being sufficient for passing the measure so presented. The Council would be elected for eight years, the Assembly for five years. The Viceroy would be an Imperial officer appointed for six years, having power to assent to Bills or to exercise a veto, exercise of the latter right, however, being subject to previous consultation with the Irish Cabinet.

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[1] Morley, ii. 734.

[2] *Annual Register*, p. 109.

[3] *Ibid.* 127-37.

[4] Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 736-7.

[5] *Annual Register*, pp. 31-35.

In all purely Irish matters the Irish Parliament would be supreme; but it could endow no religious belief, nor impose restrictions on the profession of any religion, or of none. And it could not touch such questions as peace or war, the army, navy or national defence, the Crown, regency, Viceroyalty, titles and dignities; nor could it interfere with coinage, or with questions of external trade. These were reserved to the Imperial Parliament, the supremacy of which was specially asserted in the Preamble of the Bill. And if the Irish Parliament outstepped the limits of its powers, the Judicial Committee of the English Privy Council, on the initiation of the Irish Viceroy or the English Home Secretary, might declare that such legislation was *ultra vires*, and therefore must be vetoed as such. For a period of six years Irish Judges would be appointed by the Imperial authority, after which they would be appointed by the Irish executive, holding office in this case as in the former by an irrevocable tenure. The Irish police also would be under Imperial control until a new civil force was enrolled, and this must be done at furthest within a period of six years. The new police force would be under Irish control; but special provision was made as to the pensions of the retiring policemen; and the same sort of provisions were made as to the pensions of retiring judges and civil servants. For three years the Land question was to remain for settlement to the Imperial Parliament, after which if not settled it would pass to the Irish Parliament.

Unlike the measure of 1886, the Bill provided for the retention of the Irish members at Westminster. They were, however, to be reduced to 80; nor were they to vote on purely English or Scotch questions, nor on any tax not levied in Ireland, nor on any appropriation of money except for Imperial services. A schedule of such services was given. The question of the retention or exclusion of Irish members bristled with difficulties, and Mr. Gladstone stated them very fairly and without prejudice. He would leave the matter an open one, satisfied with whatever decision might be come to by Parliament.[1]

On behalf of the Tories Sir Edward Clarke found fault with the proposed arrangement, declaring it to be beyond the wit of man to completely separate local from Imperial questions.[2] Colonel Saunderson was more vehement in his condemnation, complaining that the proposed Irish Parliament would have "the power of plunder without the fear of judgment."[3] On the other hand, Mr. Sexton, speaking on behalf of the Anti-Parnellites, welcomed the Bill as better than that of 1886, though he found grave fault with the financial provisions, which he thought less equitable than those of the former Bill.[4] There was to be no great Imperial officer as provided in 1886 to collect the revenue and transmit the balance to the Irish exchequer after the fixed Imperial contribution from Ireland had been paid. Under the new arrangement the customs alone were reserved for collection by Imperial officers, and would be deemed sufficient as Ireland's contribution to the Imperial Exchequer. All the other items of revenue were to be collected by Irish officers and expended under the control of the Irish executive authority. Mr. Gladstone estimated, after giving the several items of the Irish Budget, that Ireland would have a balance of £500,000 with which to start the work of Irish government. But Mr. Sexton denied the accuracy of these figures. Mr. Redmond's condemnation was more emphatic. From him much was expected by the Unionists. They hoped he would play the game of faction, criticize adversely anything and everything proposed by Mr. Gladstone, and make demands which he knew well could not be conceded. As he did not do this their chagrin was great. He spoke with great eloquence and power, and though he found fault with the financial provisions, with the power of veto given to the English Privy Council, and with the right of the Imperial Parliament to legislate even on purely Irish questions concurrently with the Irish Parliament, he spoke in no carping spirit. He spoke, indeed, throughout as a patriot and a statesman. He spoke with an enthusiasm which was natural of the great work done by Parnell, but he also paid an eloquent tribute to the great Englishman who had devoted to the cause of Ireland the glorious sunset of his days.[1]

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[1] Hansard, ccclxiv. pp. 1241-75.

[2] *Ibid.* 1286.

[3] *Ibid.* 1331.

[4] *Ibid.* 1327.

After four nights' debate the Bill was read a first time without a division, on the 20th of February. Nearly two months later, on the 6th of April, Mr. Gladstone moved the second reading, and then the big guns on both sides of the House were brought into action. Often indeed the speaking was wearisome, but often also it was on a high level. The *Annual Register* (p. 39) notes that there seemed to be a secret understanding among the Unionists as to the line to be taken.

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[1] Hansard, ccclxiv. 1463-80.

The Tories were to resent the treatment meted out to the British taxpayer. The Liberal Unionists were to lay special stress on the danger to the security and prestige of the United Kingdom. The Ulstermen were to protest against the threatened ruin of their province. Certainly there was much said about Ulster. Belfast had become the Mecca of Unionism. Thither went Mr. Balfour in April and Lord Salisbury in May, both to rouse the militant bigotry of Ulster Orangeism.[1] Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Henry James and the Duke of Devonshire also visited the same city, and with the same object as the Tory leaders. And in the House of Commons the voice of Ulster bigotry was self-assertive and loud. Mr. MacCartney and Sir Edward Harland protested against the threatened ruin of a prosperous and progressive province.[2] Mr. Dunbar Barton spoke of armed resistance, and seems to have contemplated a sentence of penal servitude for himself.[3] Mr. T. W. Russell was not behindhand in strong language. As for Colonel Saunderson, there was no limit to the extravagance of his oratory. He declared that Ulster would certainly fight rather than be subject to a Parliament controlled by Dr. Walsh, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin ; nor would a loyal and high-spirited province bear to be governed by disloyal and dishonest men. And he predicted all sorts of evils in addition to armed insurrection — confusion in the law courts, impotence in the executive, smuggling along the coast.[4]

From the Irish benches these objections were met by Mr. Blake, Mr. Redmond, Mr. Davitt and Mr. Sexton. Mr. Blake's was a calmly-reasoned speech made by one who had held high office in Canada, and had therefore practical experience of the beneficent effects of Home Rule.[5] Mr. Redmond welcomed the Bill, while solemnly protesting against its financial provisions.[6] Mr. Davitt's speech was specially noteworthy, and made a deep impression on the House. The rebel and Fenian, under the influence of Mr. Gladstone's conciliatory policy, had turned to constitutional ways. The prisoner of Dartmoor, who had spent so many years of his life in the loneliness and privation of an English prison cell, spoke without a trace of bitterness. Forgiving and forgetting all he had suffered, he welcomed the Bill, with all its safeguards and restrictions, as a final settlement between two nations long estranged.[1] In pointing to the fact that the Catholic Corporation of Dublin had sent its Protestant Lord Mayor to Parliament with a petition in favour of Mr. Gladstone's Bill, Mr. Sexton could retort on Colonel Saunderson that the claim of Ulster was not for freedom or equality, but for domination and ascendancy. For it was well known that the Belfast Corporation was a bigoted body, which would admit no Catholic to its employment or its honours. Nor had Mr. Sexton any difficulty in exposing Mr. Chamberlain's financial inaccuracies. Like Mr. Redmond and Mr. Davitt, he accepted the Bill, and believed it would put an end to the strife of ages.[2]

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 305-7.

[2] Hansard.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Hansard, iv. 856 *et seq.*

[5] Hansard, iii. 407-23.

[6] *Ibid.* 234-52.

In moving the second reading, Mr. Gladstone specially emphasized the fact that under existing conditions the British Parliament was unable to do its work. He pointed out that Ireland had been discontented ever since the Union; and on the other hand, that in every British colony the grant of self-government had always brought loyalty and contentment in its train.[3] Sir M. Hicks-Beach, who followed him, indulged much in prophecy. The Bill did not safeguard British supremacy; it would lead to fresh demands from a discontented and an unsatisfied Ireland; it would allow the Irish members to still dominate the Parliament of Westminster, even while masters of the Parliament at Dublin. The Bill, he said, "is not a union; it is not a federation; it is not colonial self-government; it is a bastard combination of the three."[4] Mr. Chamberlain was more vehement in his condemnation and less scrupulous. He objected to everything in the Bill—the safeguards for Imperial supremacy and the rights of minorities, the financial arrangements, the veto, and above all he objected to give

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[1] Hansard, iv. 42-62.

[2] *Ibid.* 785-824.

[3] *Ibid.* iii. 1597-1620.

[4] *Ibid.* 1620-42.

Ireland over to the Irish Nationalist leaders, whom he abhorred and denounced.[1] On the same side, and with a good deal of exaggeration, Lord Randolph Churchill spoke, as did Mr. Goschen and Sir Henry James. Mr. Goschen was clever and argumentative, and speaking as a financial expert, severely and skilfully criticized the financial arrangements in the Bill.[2] And Sir Henry James made much of the fact that Mr. Parnell had accepted as a final settlement the Bill of 1886, and yet four years later had attacked both the Bill and its author.[3]

From the Liberal benches an answer came from Mr. Morley. His speech was able and eloquent as became one whose diction was always so select, and who was so much a master of the subject. Both Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Randolph Churchill he handled severely, and the Duke of Devonshire's recent appeal to the past in his Belfast speech he described as "an incoherent and ignorant perversion of history."[4] But a still more brilliant speech from the Liberal benches was that of Mr. Asquith, the Home Secretary. Clothed in highly felicitous language, it was argumentative and convincing, and produced a marked effect on all who heard it. If the Irish people were so black as they had been painted by the Unionists, they deserved instead of Home Rule to be disfranchised. Yet they were given the franchise in 1885, and Mr. Chamberlain in that year was prepared to give them local government, which differed little from Home Rule. Mr. Asquith scoffed at the notion that Imperial supremacy was insufficiently safeguarded in the Bill; and he understood by supremacy "not the power or practice of meddling or peddling interference with the details of Irish legislation or administration, but a real power which might be used in grave emergencies" should such arise. "It is," he said, "taxing our credulity to ask us to believe that a power which has expressly reserved to itself under the Bill the executive authority, which has complete and absolute control of the whole of the military and naval forces of the Crown, which can call upon the officers of the Irish executive to carry out its decrees, and which, in case of default by them, can appoint officers of its own for the purpose—it is taxing our credulity to ask us to believe that a power so endowed and equipped will not be able to enforce to the last extent every power it possesses."[1]

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[1] Hansard, vii. 1830-57.
[2] *Ibid.* iv. 462-83.
[3] *Ibid.* 912-39.
[4] *Ibid.* 629-57.

On the 21st of April, the twelfth night of the debate, Mr. Balfour summed up for the Opposition. A keen debater, he made his points with the skill of the practised dialectician. Denying that the Union had failed or that coercion had failed, he denied that either Imperial supremacy or the interests of Ulster were sufficiently safeguarded in the Bill, and he denied that the police and civil servants were being treated with justice. He predicted that Irish discontent would not be allayed; that there would be fresh demands made in the future, seeing that the Irish Parliament was prohibited from dealing with religion and education and trade; that there would be confusion and civil war; and he warned the Irish Nationalists of the folly of cutting off their country—a poor country—from access to British credit.[2] Then came the final scene, when Mr. Gladstone rose in a full House just as the clock tolled the hour of midnight. Summing up all that his opponents had said, he described it as consisting of bold assertion, persistent exaggeration, constant misconstruction, copious, arbitrary and boundless prophecy; and he gave examples of how these various weapons had been used. He declared himself quite satisfied with the speeches of the Irish leaders, considering them as sufficient acceptance of the measure on the part of the Irish people. He was specially pleased with the speech of Mr. Redmond. But, on the other hand, he had strong language of condemnation for the speeches made by Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Henry James—speeches in which distrust of Ireland, hatred of her leaders, and incitement to Ulster bigotry were but too apparent.[3] When the division was taken, 347 voted for the Bill and 304 against it. Mr. Gladstone had therefore triumphed, and the verdict of 1886 was reversed.

But the Bill had many dangers yet to face, and in Committee only the greatest care could avert disaster. The Committee stage began on the 4th of May. The Unionists declared their determination to kill the Bill, and for this purpose had recourse to every form of obstruction. Amendments were moved, long speeches made, every clause and every line was fought over; and such was the slow progress made that after twenty-eight nights only four clauses had been passed. To economize time the Irish leaders said little. But Mr. Balfour and others on his side said much, Mr. Chamberlain most of all. With tireless energy and sleepless vigilance he watched and delayed progress, satisfied if he could only wear down Mr. Gladstone. A motion was at last passed to have the Bill closured by compartments, and only thus was the Committee stage got through. In general the Liberals and Nationalists held well together, but there were times when the forces of the Opposition all but prevailed. On the 30th of May a Unionist amendment was defeated only by 21 votes; the 6th clause had but a majority of 15; and the 9th clause only 14.[1] On this latter clause Unionists and Parnellites coalesced. But the combination did not endure, and on the 30th of August the third reading of the Bill was carried by a majority of 34. Though voting with the majority, Mr. Redmond made an injudicious speech, which delighted the enemies of Home Rule and disheartened its friends. He declared the Bill was worse than when it had entered Committee; that no man in his senses could regard it as a satisfactory settlement of Ireland's claims; that the word "provisional" was stamped in red ink across every page.[2]

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[1] Hansard, iv. 335-61. [2] *Ibid.* 968-97. [3] *Ibid.* 992-1006.

In the House of Lords the Bill was treated with scant courtesy. On the second reading its rejection was moved by the Duke of Devonshire, and in a house of 460 only 41 voted for the Bill.[3] Thus was the representative assembly of the nation flouted by a body non-representative and reactionary. Two other important measures had also occupied the attention of Parliament in the session of 1893—the Employers' Liability

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[1] Hansard, vii. 1031, 1192.

[2] *Annual Register*, p. 92; T. D. Sullivan, pp. 341-2.

[3] *Annual Register*, p. 228.

Bill and the Parish Councils Bill. Both were sent up to the Lords, and there they were amended out of all recognition. All remonstrance from the House of Commons was unavailing in the case of the Employers' Liability Bill, and the Government in consequence abandoned it. To a small extent the Lords yielded on the Parish Councils Bill, and that Bill became law, not, however, without strong language in the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone was specially indignant at seeing the hard labours of the longest session on record thus nullified in a few hours by the prejudice and obstinancy of a non-representative body. After the rejection of the Home Rule Bill he spoke out at Edinburgh, telling his audience that a determined nation could not be thwarted by a phalanx of 500 peers who bore high-sounding titles and sat in a gilded chamber. And he promised that in the next session Home Rule would again appear above the waves amid which it had for the moment seemed to founder.[1] The Lords' treatment of the Employers' Liability Bill and the Parish Councils Bill still further intensified Mr. Gladstone's indignation against the Peers, and his last speech in Parliament was an attack on them. The question, he said, was "whether the judgment of the House of Lords is to annihilate the whole work of the House of Commons. The issue which is raised between a deliberative assembly elected by the votes of six millions of people, and a deliberative assembly occupied by many men of virtue, by many men of talent, of course with considerable diversities and varieties, is a controversy which, when once raised, must go forward to an issue."[2]

The fact was that Mr. Gladstone was satisfied that the House of Lords must be fought, and that a suitable opportunity to fight the Peers had come. He was then very old, his hearing was bad, his sight was dim and he was threatened with total blindness, and any other man would have sought for repose, weighed down as he was with the infirmities of age. But his mental faculties were still unimpaired, as was shown by the skill with which he had piloted the Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons; and the appeal of a man who had spent sixty years in the public service would have been hard to resist. Some of Mr. Gladstone's colleagues were with him, but others had little enthusiasm for Home Rule, and wanted no dissolution and no crusade against the House of Lords. In consequence the old warrior resolved to retire from the field. In February 1894 he made his last speech in the House of Commons, then resigned the Premiership, and soon after resigned his seat in Parliament. Lord Rosebery succeeded him as Prime Minister, and Home Rule, which was to have appeared above the waves, remained submerged.[1]

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 228-9.

[2] *Ibid.* for 1894, p. 54.

The outlook in Ireland grew dark. The violence of the Parnellites at the General Election in 1892, their attacks on meetings, their liberal use of sticks and stones and insults was not easily forgotten. On the other hand, some of the more thoughtless and younger clergy, especially in Meath, had gone far beyond the limits of prudence or fair-play, with the result that the two members elected for Meath had been unseated on petition. The recollection of these things remained, and though Parnellite and Anti-Parnellite members fought together on the Home Rule Bill, they refused to coalesce. Nor did the Anti-Parnellites themselves put their house in order. The directorate of the *Freeman's Journal* continued to furnish subject for debate and disunion. A majority of the Irish members decided that the party as such should no longer interfere in the affairs of that newspaper. Mr. Sexton, however, did not agree, and threatened to retire from public life if this resolution were not rescinded. Rescinded it was, for the country could not lose the services of such a man with the Home Rule Bill in Committee; but the decisions of the party were thus discredited and the affairs of a Dublin newspaper were still left for further debate.[2] Mr. Dillon continued to think that Mr. Healy aimed at too much power. Mr. Healy retorted that Mr. Dillon was a political boss, controlling the party funds, controlling the *Freeman's Journal*, rigging conventions for the selection of Parliamentary candidates. Nor could Mr. Dillon deny that he was one of the National Treasurers and that Mr. Healy was not. And Mr. Dillon's conduct at a convention at Castlebar in the end of July 1893 was violently assailed. In defiance of the usage that no member should preside at a convention in his own county, he presided at Castlebar. In spite of the fact that he had at the beginning of the meeting taken no exception to the composition of the convention and no pains to test the credentials of the delegates, he dissolved the meeting after it had sat for some time, on the plea that it was irregularly constituted, and undoubtedly some had been admitted who had no right to be there. Then he adjourned the meeting to Westport, where the nominee of the party rather than the local nominee was selected. The selected candidate, Dr. Ambrose, was a sturdy Nationalist, and an honest man, just as his opponent, Colonel Blake, was, and it may be that had Dr. Ambrose's claim been adequately put forward at Castlebar he might have been adopted there. Mr. Dillon, always distrustful of landlords, was evidently reluctant to have the local candidate, and thus left himself open to Mr. Healy's accusation that he was rigging conventions for the advancement of his own personal ambition.[1] A few months later Mr. Healy was turned off the directorate of the *Freeman's Journal.* Disgusted at the turn of affairs, Mr. Murrogh, one of the members for Cork and a liberal subscriber to Nationalist funds, resigned his seat, as did Mr. John Barry, M.P. for Wexford, an old and tried Nationalist; large numbers of the clergy and local leaders withdrew from the movement altogether; and the National Federation had to count on fewer working branches and a lessened income.[2]

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[1] Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 744-5.

[2] Healy, pp. 80-81.

It was probably the apathy and indifference which had followed in the wake of dissension which caused the Nationalist leaders to neglect their obvious duty when Mr. Gladstone resigned. Had the choice of his successor been left to the Liberal members they would probably have fixed on Sir William Harcourt; and he ought to have been acceptable in Ireland, for he had fought the Home Rule battle for years with conspicuous energy and ability. Mr. Gladstone himself wished to have Lord Spencer, a staunch Home Ruler. But the Queen, who had little love for Ireland and none at all for Home Rule, selected Lord Rosebery. As a Liberal he was a very mild type indeed. In November 1885 Lord Randolph Churchill suggested that the Whigs should be won over from Home Rule, that in a composite Cabinet Hartington should get the Indian Secretaryship, Goschen the Home Office, and Rosebery the Scotch Office.[1] This, however, was not done, and though Rosebery did not secede with Hartington and Goschen in the following year, he gave little help to Mr. Gladstone in the years of stress and battle which followed. By the Unionists[2] he was welcomed to the Premiership as one "who had done nothing to imperil British prestige abroad or to show his sympathy with Home Rule at home." As the biographer and apologist of Pitt, he had no disapproval for Pitt's Union policy, and disagreed with Mr. Gladstone's condemnation of the baseness and blackguardism of the Union. And on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill in the Lords he declared that though he was a witness, he was not an enthusiastic witness in favour of Home Rule. "With me at any rate Home Rule is not a fanaticism, nor a question of sentiment, scarcely even a question of history."[3]

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[1] Healy, pp. 83-86.

[2] *Ibid.* 101.

The Irish Party had, of course, no right to dictate to the Liberals as to the selection of a Liberal leader. But if Mr. Gladstone in November 1890 had a right to point out that Parnell's continuance in the Irish leadership would wreck Home Rule, the Irish Party in 1894 had an equal right to point out that they could not support a Liberal Premier who had no desire to advance the cause of Home Rule. Had Parnell lived it is more than likely that he would have chastised Lord Rosebery by promptly turning him out of office. Mr. Parnell's successors, however, were not so exacting. Mr. T. P. O'Connor described Rosebery's speech in the Lords as just the sort that would favourably impress the House of

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[1] *Churchill's Life*, ii. 6—private letter to Salisbury.

[2] *Annual Register*, p. 60.

[3] Hansard; Lucy's *Diary of the Home Rule Parliament*, pp. 319-20.

Lords and the British public, and professed to be satisfied with it himself.[1] Mr. Davitt preferred Lord Rosebery to Sir William Harcourt. Mr. Dillon at Clonmel (11th February 1894) deprecated suspecting the Liberal leaders, suspicion being "the mark of a timid and cowardly nature." The *Freeman's Journal*, however, wisely suggested that assurances should be sought by the Irish leaders, and Mr. Healy urged the same in a letter to Mr. MacCarthy. The latter wrote to Lord Rosebery, but was not vouchsafed either an interview or a reply, and a few days later the new Premier publicly declared that before "Home Rule is conceded by the Imperial Parliament, England, as the predominant partner, will have to be convinced of its justice."[2] Frightened at the flutter created by these words in the minds of the Irish Nationalists, Lord Rosebery, on the 17th of March, in a speech at Edinburgh, partly retraced his steps. Mr. John Dillon, who was present, hastened to say to his countrymen in the Scotch capital that for himself he was satisfied with the speech; he was deeply and firmly convinced that in Lord Rosebery Ireland had an honest and an honourable champion, who would be false to no pledge given by that great man whose place he had stepped into so courageously. Nor could Mr. Dillon be blamed for his estimate of Lord Rosebery, when Lord Rosebery's words are remembered.[3] Others of the party, however, remained sceptical and suspicious. Nor could it be denied that Mr. Redmond accurately summed up the situation in April 1894 as one in which Ireland was almost face to face with the ruin of the Home Rule cause, "in a position of disunion, squalid and humiliating personal altercations, and petty vanities."[1]

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[1] *Sketches in the House*, pp. 277-8.

[2] Healy, pp. 90-91.

[3] *Annual Register*, pp. 77-79. "On the first night of the session," said Lord Rosebery, "I had occasion to deal with the Irish question . . . and my critics admit that I dealt with it with almost too much perspicacity. But unfortunately the interpretation that they put on my words was not that which I put upon them in my intention. What I said was that if we wanted to carry Home Rule we must carry conviction to the heart of England, and by these words I stand. They are a truism, a platitude in the sense in which I uttered them; but in the sense in which they have been interpreted they bear a meaning which I as a Scotsman should be the first to repudiate. Are we really to believe that in all the great measures which affect the United Kingdom we are to wait the predominant vote of England? . . . We do not propose to sit on the banks of the stream of time and watch that stream pass by until it shall run dry in an English

Unfortunately for Ireland, the personal altercations continued. Mr. Arthur O'Connor, one of the ablest of the Irish Party, was turned out of his position as Secretary. Mr. Healy, at a convention in Liverpool (in May 1894), evidently referring to Mr. Dillon, protested that he did not machine conventions, nor draft resolutions for branches, nor go through the length and breadth of the land attacking his colleagues. Mr. Davitt at the same time and place retorted that no man would be allowed to wreck the movement under the pretext of combating "bossism," which was simply a manufactured bogey.[2] A few months later it was rumoured that Parnellites and Dillonites were about to unite to crush Mr. Healy. But Mr. Redmond repudiated any such alliance and attacked both Mr. Dillon and Mr. Sexton; while Mr. Harrington attacked Mr. O'Brien, avowing on the latter's authority that the situation could have been saved at Boulogne in 1891 had not Dillon been ambitious to succeed Parnell in the chair.[3] Meantime the Nationalist coffers were empty, and subscriptions to the party funds were readily received from leading English Liberals. Owing to protests from Mr. T. D. Sullivan and others, these subscriptions were very properly returned; for a party sustained by British gold would have no claim to be called independent.[4]

Legislation during this period there was none. Faced by a strong opposition led by such able debaters as Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain, discredited by their losses at by-elections, almost unrepresented in the House of Lords, the Government was impotent. A Registration Bill and a Welsh

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majority? . . . I must point out that if I had meant that an English majority was necessary to the passing of Home Rule I should have been uttering what on the face of it is an absurdity" (*Times*, March 19, 1894).

[1] *Annual Register*, p. 206.

[2] *Ibid.* 207-8.

[3] Healy, pp. 111-12.

[4] *Ibid.* 103-6, 109-10.

Disestablishment Bill were introduced in 1894, but neither became law; nor did the Welsh Bill when reintroduced in the following year;[1] nor did an Irish Evicted Tenants Bill or an Irish Land Bill, though the former reached the Lords and the latter passed its second reading without a division.[2] The Unionist vote of censure in February 1895 was defeated by only 14 votes.[3] Confident of victory, they clamoured for a General Election, and stopped all legislation. Nothing was done for Ireland except the appointment of some popular magistrates and of a Commission to investigate what were the financial relations between Ireland and Great Britain. The Parnellites, like the Unionists, wanted a dissolution; but the Anti-Parnellites continued to support the Government in passing Bills which it was well known the Lords would reject. This was called the policy of "filling up the cup" against the Lords. As for the agitation against the Upper House, it was never taken seriously, for nobody believed that Lord Rosebery wanted the abolition or even the reform of the House of Lords. In June the Government were defeated and resigned office. Lord Salisbury again became Premier, Mr. Balfour Leader in the Commons, Mr. Chamberlain Colonial Secretary. In July there was a dissolution, and when the last elections were over it was found that 411 Unionists, 177 Liberals, 70 Nationalists and 12 Parnellites had been returned. This gave the Unionists a majority of 152, the largest obtained at any election since 1832.[4] Even such prominent men as Sir William Harcourt and Mr. John Morley had been defeated. Ireland was again disheartened, and the Home Rule cause was in the dust.

[1] *Annual Register* for 1894, pp. 87-88, 104; for 1895, p. 88.

[2] *Ibid.* for 1894, p. 124; for 1895, p. 99.

[3] *Ibid.* 34.

[4] *Ibid.* 153-8.

CHAPTER XVIII

Years of Strife

IN the autumn of 1895 Liberal politicians were busily engaged in trying to account for the disasters of the recent election. They owed their defeat to Welsh Disestablishment, to local veto, to the opposition of Beer and Bible, or, as others put it, to Gin and Gospel; they were beaten on Home Rule and on the question of the House of Lords; they had lost because they no longer fought under Gladstone.[1] Beaten they certainly were, and a Government with a majority of 152 was not likely to be soon displaced from power. One result of the change was that Home Rule had disappeared. The Liberal Unionists had come back in renewed strength; their leaders, Devonshire, Chamberlain, Goschen and James, had taken office, and these were far more Anti-Irish than the Tories themselves. Not even the Ulster Orangemen had attacked so severely the Nationalist leaders as Mr. Chamberlain. From a Government in which he held a commanding position the Irish had little to hope. This was evident when the new Ministers met the House of Commons in August. Though the assembling of Parliament was merely to wind up the business of the year and its sittings were not prolonged, many subjects were nevertheless touched upon: the evicted tenants and agricultural depression, Egypt and Uganda, the atrocities in Armenia and the massacres in China. But of Home Rule there was nothing, except a declaration from the Government that it would be firmly opposed. There was no promise even of Local Government for Ireland. But the Chief Secretary, Mr. Gerald Balfour, promised that an Irish Land Bill would be introduced in the next session. No further measures apparently were to be introduced, and it was disheartening for the Home Rulers to find that Lord Rosebery again repeated his "predominant partner" speech, declaring in the House of Lords that Ireland could not get or expect Home Rule until England was convinced of its justice.[1] Nor did Lord Rosebery stand alone. The late Home Rule Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Crewe, had no hesitation in saying that he "thought the importance of Home Rule had been greatly exaggerated." He added that the continuance of Irish dissension was having a most injurious effect on British public opinion.[2]

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 182-6.

The serious, even fatal character of these dissensions compelled Mr. MacCarthy to say in a public speech that if unity was not restored "Irishmen must give up any idea of Home Rule for the present generation."[3] And yet the year 1895 came and went without any unity being reached. The Parnellites, stubbornly resisting all invitations, would have nothing to do with a party numbering among its leaders such men as Mr. Dillon, "whose shallow and selfish ambition was, with Mr. Sexton's conceit, mainly responsible for the Parnell tragedy."[4] Instead of peace these Parnellites professed war, and at the General Election they fought the Anti-Parnellites with great determination, and having captured from them three seats, emerged from the contest stronger and more determined than ever.

The Anti-Parnellites won Derry City from the Tories, and were therefore 70 after the General Election, compared with 72 at the dissolution. But though their numbers remained practically unchanged, their strength was seriously impaired by internal divisions. As in 1892, the trouble came chiefly from the rivalries of Mr. Healy and Mr. Dillon. Mr. Dillon's friends declared that nothing could satisfy Mr. Healy, that he was bent on ruining the party, dominated by a spirit of faction which nothing could exorcise. Mr. Healy's friends, on the other hand, blamed Mr. Dillon, who was intriguing for the chair and wished to crush Mr. Healy, believing him to be the chief obstacle to his ambition. This, however, is not an accurate presentment of the case. Incompatible in temper, with different points of view and different intellectual gifts, no doubt personal antipathy was largely responsible for keeping them apart. But they were separated also on matters of policy, especially as to the management of the National Party and the general conduct of the National movement. Mr. Dillon seems to have had a dread of anything like clerical predominance, believing that such would injure the Irish cause in Great Britain, and this partly, at least, explains his anxiety to win over the Parnellites. As in Parnell's time, he wanted to have the clergy on the one hand and the Fenians on the other acting together. Mr. Healy had lost all hope of conciliating the Parnellites, and wanted to fight them and beat them. He was satisfied that this could be done by the aid of the priests, who as a body were quite as patriotic as the Parnellites or Fenians. And he felt it was bad policy to lose the support of the priests, knowing well that no national movement could succeed without them. Mr. Healy's view also was that conventions for the selection of Parliamentary candidates should be thoroughly representative, and should be left free from needless interference on the part of members of Parliament. Mr. Dillon favoured the system in existence under Parnell, when conventions were indeed representative, yet were controlled by the Parliamentary managers. It had, on the whole, worked well, and in freeing men from local influences had made a homogeneous party animated rather by national than by local patriotism. But it engendered not a few complaints, and had introduced men into the party who were undesirable and incompetent—men who brought little credit to the party and were of little advantage to the public service. Mr. Healy would have the party funds to some extent controlled from outside; Mr. Dillon would have them controlled by the party itself, and necessarily[1] also by a few within the party. A National Convention ought to have been called, Mr. Healy thought, before the General Election, so as to formulate a National policy. Mr. Dillon preferred to have the conduct of the General Election delegated to a small Committee within the party, from which Mr. Healy and his friends were excluded.[1] Finally, Mr. Healy was willing to accept concessions from the Tories just as he would from the Liberals. Mr. Dillon looked askance at the Tories, and in the Liberals placed his hopes. Mr. Dillon's strength lay in the fact that most of the experienced men of the party, as well as a small majority of the whole members, shared his views. But Mr. Healy also had powerful support within the party, and his objections as to the character of the conventions, the interference of the party in such conventions, and the control of the National funds were shared by large numbers among the constituents. So able a man, they thought, was worth conciliating. Had his objections been fairly met, and had he in spite of this persevered in a policy of faction, his supporters would have dwindled and he could have been easily crushed. But no serious attempt was made to meet his objections, and it was this, in addition to his vast ability, which made him so strong.

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 164-74. [2] *Ibid.* 201. [3] *Ibid.* 202.

[4] *Independent*, February 2, 1895.

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[1] *Freeman*, Nov. 5, 1894.

At the General Election the divergent views of Mr. Dillon and Mr. Healy came into violent conflict, and were responsible for some painful scenes. In Kilkenny City the candidate selected, who was favourable to Mr. Healy, got no assistance from the Electoral Committee of the party, and the seat was lost to the Parnellites. East Wicklow was also lost owing to the same cause.[2] At the Convention in South Monaghan, Mr. Dillon attended and insisted on his right to take the chair. The delegates, or a majority of them, insisted on having a local priest, Canon Hoey, one of the most respected and patriotic priests in Ulster, and as Mr. Dillon refused to yield, he was assailed with cries of "No dictation," "No bossism," "A free convention." Ultimately, after a display of passion and disorder which were certainly not the heralds of unity and peace, a compromise was agreed to, and Dean Birmingham was voted to the chair.[3] Mr. Dillon also proceeded to Donegal and presided at the Convention there, hoping, says Mr. Healy, to oust from their seats Mr. Arthur O'Connor and Mr. T. D. Sullivan.

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[1] Healy, p. 116. [2] *Ibid.* 120. [3] *Ibid.* 119.

In Mayo the chairman was Mr. Edward Blake. In three divisions there was no interference from the party and no contest. But in North Mayo there was trouble with the late Healyite sitting member, Mr. Crilly. His record in the practical work of legislation was not specially brilliant, and his constituents were not particularly anxious for the retention of his services. A few weeks before the Convention, the Bishop of Killala, Dr. Conmy, and his priests had occasion to send their subscriptions to the Irish Party fund, and were quite ready to accept any suggestions as to the choice of their future member. But their subscriptions were not even acknowledged, and not a word was conveyed to them that Mr. Crilly ought to be replaced by a better man. On the day of the Convention, therefore, the North Mayo delegates, lay and cleric, came to Castlebar to support their late sitting member. Mr. Blake was an impartial chairman, and all would have proceeded smoothly but for the intervention of Mr. William O'Brien. He was then member for Cork City, and an old personal friend of Mr. Dillon. They had stood together on many a platform, had faced together many a danger, had shared together the privations of imprisonment, and the first book Mr. O'Brien wrote he dedicated to his dear old friend, "in memory of anxious years and glorious hopes." As an ardent follower of Mr. Dillon he had said many things of Mr. Healy that were hard and bitter; yet he had to bow to public opinion in Cork and accept Mr. Healy's brother Maurice as his Parliamentary colleague. But he would strike elsewhere, and travelling from Cork by a night train, he reached Castlebar in time for the Convention, and attacked Mr. Crilly as a follower and supporter of Mr. T. M. Healy, and as such unworthy to be the representative of North Mayo. There are few men equal to Mr. O'Brien as a platform orator. His fiery energy, his rapid eloquence, his vehemence and earnestness of tone and gesture are all-powerful with an Irish crowd, and on this occasion his energy was at fever heat, his words came forth like the lava tide. Not in Ireland was there a more public-spirited or more patriotic body of priests than the priests of Killala, and at the Convention they represented their Bishop, who was as public-spirited and as patriotic as themselves. Yet, under the influence of Mr. O'Brien's excited rhetoric, they were hissed and hooted, and as they and the lay delegates from North Mayo left the Convention hall in solemn protest, the hooting and groaning continued. As for Mr. Crilly, he was not even heard, and was, of course, rejected. Mr. O'Brien was more than satisfied, and gleefully declared that "they had sent that day a message of unity and discipline that would ring throughout the world."[1] But the North Mayo delegates were determined men. As a protest against clamour and violence and dictation, they would have nothing to do with the nominee of the Convention, and Mr. Crilly in due course became M.P. for North Mayo.

What took place at Omagh attracted even more attention than what took place at Castlebar. Mr. Dillon was in the chair, the Convention having been called to select candidates for South, Mid and East Tyrone. No delegates were present or had been invited from North Tyrone. Asked why this was so, Mr. Dillon was not very explicit in his answer. But Mr. Healy, who was present, gave the reason. There was, he said, a secret treaty with the Liberals by which, in consideration of a sum of £200 a year for registration purposes, North Tyrone was to be considered a Liberal seat. This treaty had been made through Mr. Blake, acting on the part of the Parliamentary Committee, but without consultation with the party; and it had been made when North Tyrone, by Nationalist money and Nationalist effort in the work of registration, was already a Nationalist seat. The sensation created by this disclosure was great and did much harm to the Home Rule cause throughout Great Britain. Charged with once again playing the game of faction, and even with treason to the National cause, Mr. Healy replied that he had no other time or place to make his protest, and that in making it before a private meeting of Tyrone delegates he had no intention of making it public, and thought that privacy had been sufficiently secured. Recalling the case of Dungarvan in 1846, when O'Connell, against the protests of the Young Irelanders, had given a Repeal seat to a Whig place-hunter, and recalling the evils which followed, Mr. Healy avowed that his intention was to rescue the National movement in 1895 from the reproaches and disaster which the affair at Dungarvan had brought upon O'Connell and Repeal.[1] Not many will be found to defend the time selected for the disclosure by Mr. Healy, just in the middle of a General Election. But it is not easy to defend the bargain he condemned. It ought not to have been made with any British party, least of all with a party under the leadership of Lord Rosebery. The Irish Party, at all events, were not prepared to approve of it, or to condemn Mr. Healy, and when the usual ballot took place for the members of the Parliamentary Committee, he was, jointly with Mr. Dillon, placed at the head of the poll. Shortly after, however, he interfered in the South Kerry election, because, as he said, the Convention had been called irregularly and in the interests of Mr. Dillon. For this offence, following on the Omagh disclosures, he was before the close of the year expelled from the Committee of the Irish Party, from the executive of the Irish National League of Great Britain, and from the executive of the Irish National Federation.[2]

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[1] Healy, p. 117.

In the beginning of 1896 Mr. MacCarthy retired from the Chairmanship of the party. A literary man with a taste for politics, he was much at home in the House of Commons and liked the life there. But though possessed of courage and capacity, he was reluctant to assert himself, and was quite unable to suppress the rivalries and jealousies with which his party was rent and torn. He did not, however, take a despairing view of the future, and in the letter in which he announced his retirement he said that, after all, these rivalries were merely personal, and would not and did not "affect the vote of a single Irish Nationalist in the House of Commons when any Irish interest was concerned."[3]

[1] Healy, pp. 122-6.

[2] *Ibid.* 133-5.

[3] *Ibid.* 141.

All eyes were then turned on Mr. Sexton. He had taken no part in hunting down Healy, and in consequence had given little offence. In Parliament he could more than hold his own even against Chamberlain and Balfour, and now that Gladstone was gone he was its greatest orator. Interpreting the voice of the country, the Irish Party elected him unanimously to the vacant chair. But the difficulty was with Mr. Sexton himself; for he had ceased attending Parliament, and had announced in July 1895 that he would not return to it. "So far as concerns genuine service to the country," he said, "I am convinced that at present I may just as well be out of Parliament as in it. Why should I deliberately associate myself with evils beyond my control, and incur responsibility for consequences which I may foresee, but have no competence to avert?" The unanimous vote of the whole party, it was thought, would change his views, for it would be hard to resist such a call when made for the sake of Ireland. To smooth his path still more, Mr. Healy wrote him the following letter:—

House of Commons,
14*th Feb.* 1896.

Dear Sexton—It has been suggested to me by some colleagues with whom I have been in close communication that a friendly note from me might have the effect of dissuading you from finally declining the honour which all of us recently united to pay you. I gladly comply with their wish, because the moments of difference between us are as nothing in contrast with the long years of comradeship through which we have worked side by side.

The knowledge of the further perplexities which would take root in the party if you persist in your attitude should, I would urge, outweigh entirely the very natural desire for rest which your unstinted and unremitting labours have brought upon you. Moreover, with your acceptance of the Chairmanship I believe harmony would be restored in our ranks, and the country with renewed confidence would cheerfully rally to the support of its representatives in the struggle against Toryism which is before us. If my withdrawal from the party would purchase your acceptance, it is needless to say what pleasure it would afford me to consult at the same time the national interests and my private convenience.

On the other hand, if, as I assume, the assurance of hearty and friendly co-operation would be more acceptable to you, it gives me great pleasure to say that amongst those for whom I may be allowed to speak there exists only one feeling, namely, a desire to make your tenure of the chair agreeable as well as honourable to you, well knowing the capacity and genius you bring to the service of the movement.

While I write to you under a sense of public obligation in view of the circumstances of the country, it is gratifying also to make this communication as a tribute to yourself in faint acknowledgment of the brilliant services to the common cause to which I have been so long a witness. I shall take the liberty of publishing this letter in the press, in the hope that it may interpose an additional difficulty in your way to making a further refusal.—Faithfully yours,

T. M. HEALY.[1]

Those who believed Mr. Healy an incurable factionist did not hesitate to say that he wrote in mockery and in insincerity. But all fair-minded Irishmen believed that he was earnest and sincere. Mr. Sexton, however, was obdurate. He had already declined the honour offered to him by the party, and now he repeated his refusal to Mr. Healy in a not too gracious reply. The country felt annoyed and surprised. Nor was it easy to understand why a man of such gifts should prefer an obscure position in Dublin to a proud position in a great assembly, where his talents, while serving the country he loved, would have attracted the admiration of the world.

Then Mr. Dillon was elected to the chair. His election was not unanimous; but in returning thanks he declared he would be no majority Chairman, but the Chairman of the whole party, and that under his Chairmanship every man in the party would get fair-play.[2] These were honest words and were honestly intended, and yet many who voted for Dillon must have asked themselves was he, after all, the best selection they could have made. His personal character indeed was above reproach. He had inherited his father's best qualities—his sympathy for the poor, his hatred of oppression, his deep love of country, his courage, his self-sacrifice. Every one knew that John Dillon had been in prison for Ireland, and that, had Ireland demanded or required it, he would just as readily have mounted the scaffold. Nor could his bitterest enemy deny his right to be called, as he often was, Honest John Dillon. But he could be all this and not be the best selection for the chair of the Irish Party in 1896. For one thing, the Parnellites would not serve under him ; and cordial co-operation with Mr. Healy and his friends was not to be expected after the events of the last few years. Indeed, Mr. Dillon was quite unable to conciliate opposition. Like Parnell, he had the Committee of the party abolished and ruled alone. But Parnell delegated a good deal of work to others, keeping out of sight himself. Dillon was more reluctant to part with any power except to a favoured few who were his special friends. He controlled the National funds, he very largely controlled the *Freeman's Journal*, he attended conventions, he made speeches week after week, almost day after day, and after his election to the chair he spoke of opposition to himself with great severity. This was not the best way to attract adherents or win over opponents. Many suggested that a National Convention should be called, whose voice, speaking in the name of Ireland, should be heard and its mandate obeyed, and that thus would union come. But Mr. Dillon was averse, and one of his chief supporters, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, declared that such a gathering would be nothing better than a Donnybrook Fair. Gradually, however, Mr. Dillon's objections to a Convention disappeared ; but instead of a National Convention of Irishmen at home, he would have a Convention of the Irish race. The Irish abroad, as well as those at home, had liberally subscribed to National funds, and Mr. Dillon naturally thought that all had a right to be called in and to say what was best for Ireland's future.[1]

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[1] Healy, pp. 146-7.

[2] *Ibid.* 147.

This Convention met in Dublin on the 1st of September 1896. It was a large gathering, mustering in all 2500 delegates. They came over many seas and from many lands —from the teeming cities of Great Britain ; from New York and Philadelphia and Boston and distant Montana ; from the populous centres of Canada ; from Nova Scotia and Newfoundland ; from the great self-governing British Colonies washed by the waters of Southern seas ; from Cape Colony and Griqualand West ; from Kimberley, the diamond city of the English ; and from Johannesburg, the golden city of the Boers. Priests, professional men, merchants, journalists, seasoned politicians, they differed in many things, but all agreed in their love for Ireland and lifted up their voices in the cause of unity and peace at home. They were not able to understand so well as the home delegates the disputes and wrangles between Irish politicians, and it was in every sense regrettable that no effort was made to have these home delegates fully representative of Nationalist Ireland. In 1200 Irish parishes there were but 490 branches of the National Federation,[1] and many of these branches were moribund in 1896. One of Mr. Dillon's strongest supporters, Mr. M'Hugh, M.P., called public attention to the fact that such an organization could not of itself represent Nationalist Ireland or effect a reunion of Nationalist forces. " If the Convention was so constituted that only one party out of two, or two parties out of three, were prepared to accept its decisions, then its proceedings could not secure the re-establishment of unity." And he suggested that other bodies outside the Federation should be represented. But Mr. Dillon disagreed with him, and when the Convention opened its doors neither the followers of Mr. Redmond nor those of Mr. Healy were present.[2]

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[1] Healy, pp. 162-3.

During the three days its sittings lasted, Dr. O'Donnell, Bishop of Raphoe, presided, and in opening the proceedings he spoke eloquently, as he always does. Able speeches were also made by Mr. Dillon, Mr. Blake, Mr. O'Brien and Mr. T. P. O'Connor, and by many of the delegates, home and foreign. But while much was said on questions of National policy, on agrarian, industrial and educational reform, and on Home Rule, there was no serious attempt made to bridge over the chasm which yawned between contending Nationalists. Father Flynn, a Waterford priest, proposed to appoint a committee of arbitration of the home and foreign delegates to draw up a set of rules forming a common platform upon which all Irish Nationalists might stand united. And Father Phillips, an American priest, reminding his audience that men have opinions and that these opinions are sometimes honestly expressed, deprecated harsh measures and was quite sure that more flies were caught by molasses than by vinegar.

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[1] Healy, p. 136.

[2] *Ibid.* 143-4.

But the voices raised for concord and peace were feeble and faint, and were drowned in the shriller notes of defiance and war. Mr. T. P. O'Connor poured ridicule on Father Flynn's suggestions. Father Phillip's views were treated with scant courtesy. Mr. O'Brien taunted Mr. Healy and his friends with having failed to face the music, and therefore having allowed judgment to go by default. Mr. Blake would have nothing to do with interference from outside in the management of the party funds. Mr. Dillon would allow no man in the party to flout his authority, and if any man did, no matter how great his abilities might be—this was evidently meant for Mr. Healy—he would ask him to withdraw from the party altogether. And a resolution was passed calling upon the Irish Party to take such steps as they found necessary for the establishment of unity and discipline in their own ranks.[1]

Mr. Dillon interpreted this resolution as a mandate to crush all opponents. During the following winter he made many speeches throughout Ireland and Great Britain, all in the same strain. He claimed to be a patient man, a long-suffering man, a man who kept his temper no matter how much he was provoked, a man who worked by conciliation and kindness for unity and peace. But in the midst of these peaceful protestations he sternly insisted on discipline being enforced. He spoke as the duly-elected Chairman of the Irish Party rather than as an individual; he spoke as the representative of the party, its head, its accredited champion, clothed with its full authority, and therefore entitled to respect and obedience from every member of the party, even from those who differed from him and disliked him. These gentlemen must leave the party—he had no objection if they set up a party for themselves, he preferred to see them do so to being disloyal. Against Mr. Healy he was specially bitter, and more than once he held meetings to denounce him in Mr. Healy's constituency of North Louth. Neither from Mr. Healy nor from any other member must criticism be directed towards the party. "We in the Irish Party," he said, "can't stand criticism." Mr. O'Brien went quite as far as Mr. Dillon, and, like him, was specially enraged against Mr. Healy. So much was this the case that when Mr. O'Brien begged the Archbishop of Dublin to arbitrate between contending Nationalists, he excluded Mr. Healy. The country would deal with him, which meant that he must be driven from public life. When the party met in the beginning of 1897, new and stringent rules were adopted, making it penal for any member of the party to oppose Mr. Dillon in the House of Commons, and imposing new and onerous conditions on those who wanted sustenance from the party funds.

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[1] Davitt's *Fall of Feudalism*, pp. 677-81; Healy, pp. 164-70; *Freeman's Journal*.

Yet these measures of coercion did not establish unity or promote peace. Mr. Knox, one of the most brilliant of the younger members of the party, defined this resolution as imposing a new constitution on the party, and, being formally expelled, had his action approved by his constituents at Derry. Mr. Healy equally flouted the resolutions passed as *ultra vires*, and declared that the powers conferred on the Chairman were such as had never been given to a chairman before, and that "the invention or enforcement of additional obligations is subversive of the constitution of the party, and an invasion of public and individual rights." Nearly twenty of the members refused to accept the conditions imposed on them as a qualification for payment from the party funds, and for these a sum of money was obtained by public subscription. The priests kept off Mr. Dillon's platforms. The Archbishop of Cashel replied to an invitation to attend one of these meetings by simply saying that he was in favour of every National movement. The Archbishop of Dublin met Mr. O'Brien's appeal to arbitrate between Parnellites and Dillonites by a refusal. He thought a union which would leave out Mr. Healy "would stand, to say the least of it, in a position of somewhat unstable equilibrium." Cardinal Logue objected to the meetings held in Louth and Armagh to denounce Mr. Healy; "he did not want his Archdiocese turned into a bear-garden by contending factions." Mr. Dillon's opponents, pointing to his speeches, asked were they not right in calling him a boss, and had not their prediction of his Chairmanship been fulfilled? Even Mr. Dillon's friends were not quite easy in their minds. In 1892 he had ridiculed the notion that there could be absolute unanimity in the Irish Party. To entertain such a notion would be to assume that the party was a party without brains.[1] This speech was certainly more worthy of a constitutional leader and of Mr. Dillon than his speeches in 1896 and 1897. In no constitutional party can cast-iron unity be obtained, and any party which claims to be above criticism is almost certainly below it. Nor could any one shut his eyes to the fact that in 1897 and 1898 the party was utterly disorganized and utterly worthless as a weapon of reform.[2]

In these circumstances Ireland had little to expect from the Imperial Parliament, and yet such is the wayward course of destiny that it was during this period of strife and confusion that some great remedial measures were obtained. In 1896 Mr. Gerald Balfour, the Chief Secretary, introduced the Land Bill which he had promised in the previous year. In spite of the obvious purpose of the Act of 1881, as expressed in the Healy clause, tenants were still rented on their improvements. Many classes of tenants were altogether excluded from the benefits of that Act, and the Act of 1891, with its clogging limitations and conditions, had not much stimulated land purchase. The Bill of 1896 was intended to remedy these defects, to admit to the benefits of the Act of 1881 tenants hitherto excluded, to protect tenants' improvements and to stimulate land purchase.[3] The Bill also was intended to give relief to tenants who had already purchased. It extended the period of payment from forty-nine to seventy years, providing that at the end of each decade there should be a reduction of the yearly instalment, regard being had to the fact that at each such period the principal due was less, and instalments due in lieu of principal and interest should be therefore lessened. Decadal reductions of nearly 20 per cent were thus obtained.

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[1] Healy, p. 74.

[2] *Ibid.* 171-82; MacCarthy, *The Story of an Irishman*, pp. 374-6.

[3] Hansard, 4th series, vol. xli. p. 630 (Mr. Morley's Speech).

Mr. Dillon's attitude towards the Bill was not friendly. Always distrustful of Irish landlords, he said that the Bill fell far short of what the times demanded. It was, besides, complicated and intricate, and would afford a profitable field for litigation. He therefore denounced it as "a rotten sham and fraudulent Bill," and he assailed Mr. Redmond because the latter welcomed the Bill instead of attacking it. Nor did it dispose him to be friendly when he saw that Mr. Healy shared Mr. Redmond's view. Still he would endeavour to amend it, and had a Committee of the party appointed to draw up amendments. On this Committee Mr. Healy's name was placed. He had, however, not been consulted beforehand, and had no intention of serving. He had, he said, been recently expelled from the Committee of the party, and he was at a loss to know why this unsolicited honour should now be paid him. "I am happy to think that a Committee otherwise composed of so many able men does not require my assistance, and my recollection of the subject from former years remains sufficiently distinct to enable me to hope that I shall not require theirs."[1] As a matter of fact the amendments of the Party Committee were not fortunate enough to be accepted in Committee. Mr. Healy and his brother were more successful, and owing to them and to Mr. Redmond, the Bill was considerably amended and improved. As usual, the House of Lords, being a House of landlords, struck out some of these amendments. When the Lords' amendments were agreed to in the Commons, Mr. Dillon protested, declaring that in its final shape the Bill was worse than when first introduced. Mr. Davitt went further, and opposed it at every stage, as an amalgam of fraud and hypocrisy.

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[1] Healy, p. 154, 22nd April.

But the Government was not in a yielding mood. When Mr. Balfour was introducing the Bill, he plainly intimated that if it were opposed by the representatives of the Irish tenants it would be instantly dropped. At a later stage Mr. Chamberlain made it clear that the Bill was meant to be non-contentious, and if Mr. Dillon's description of it was endorsed by all his friends it would be abandoned. Compelled then to accept or reject, Mr. Dillon accepted and the Bill passed, though Mr. Dillon was plainly right that it could not be regarded as a final settlement.[1]

In the following year the unusual spectacle was seen of Orangemen and Nationalists, Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites combining on an Irish question. In 1894 a Royal Commission had been appointed to inquire into the financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland and their relative taxable capacity.[2] Presided over by Mr. Childers, lately Chancellor of the Exchequer, and including among its members such able financiers as Mr. Sexton and the O'Connor Don, many witnesses were examined, mostly high officials whose position and experience enabled them to speak with authority on financial matters.[3] Briefly, the tale that these officers had to tell was that Ireland was being robbed by Great Britain, that the fiscal clauses of the Act of Union were grossly unjust, and that the injustice then perpetrated had continued and increased. Under an Irish Parliament, bad and corrupt as it had been, taxation was light and the National Debt small.[4]

Since the Union all that had been changed. The cost of suppressing the rebellion of 1798 and of passing the Union was placed on Ireland; its taxation and debt was therefore increased and continued to increase, until in 1817 it ceased to have its separate Chancellor of the Exchequer, its separate National Debt, and its separate Annual Budget.[5] Fiscal unity, however, was not even then established between the two countries. Regard was had to England's growing wealth and to Ireland's increasing poverty. When Sir Robert Peel imposed the income tax he had not extended it to Ireland.[1] In 1853, however, Mr. Gladstone had extended it, and leaving out some smaller items of taxation, fiscal unity became an accomplished fact. Since then successive Chancellors have been careful to study the special needs of Great Britain and have ignored the special needs of Ireland.[2] A high tax, for instance, has been imposed on spirits, which is an Irish industry; a light tax on beer, which is more usually drunk across the Channel.[3] Tea and tobacco,[4] much used in Ireland, had also been heavily taxed; and while the wealth of Ireland had decreased and her population had been reduced by millions, a police force had been maintained out of all proportion to the population, and a civil service the most expensive in Europe.[5]

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[1] Hansard, 4th series, vols. xli. xliii. xliv.

[2] Lough, *England's Wealth, Ireland's Poverty*, pp. 9-10.

[3] Lough, p. 5.

[4] *Ibid.* 203.

[5] *Ibid.* 14.

With the knowledge of all these things the Royal Commission found:

1. That for the purposes of this inquiry Great Britain and Ireland should be considered as separate entities.
2. That the Act of Union imposed on Ireland a burden she was unable to bear.
3. That the increased taxation put upon Ireland between 1853 and 1860 was not justified.
4. That identity of rates of taxation does not necessarily involve equality of burden.
5. That though the actual revenue of Ireland compared to that of Great Britain was one eleventh, its taxable capacity was no more than a twentieth,[6] and as a consequence that Ireland was being overtaxed to the amount of more than £3,000,000 a year.

Here was common ground for all Irishmen, and with the view of taking joint action in Parliament a conference of all Irish representatives was summoned. The issuing circular was signed by Messrs. Healy and Redmond, by Mr. Horace Plunkett, the Unionist M.P. for South Dublin, and by Colonel

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[1] Lough, p. 45.
[2] *Ibid.* 72.
[3] *Ibid.* 50-51.
[4] *Ibid.* 43-44.
[5] *Ibid.* 85.
[6] Davitt, p. 690; Lough.

Saunderson, the Orange leader. Mr. Dillon at first held aloof, but he subsequently attended the conference, though he refused to support the resolution which it was proposed to move in the House of Commons. This was: "That the findings of the Royal Commission on the financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland disclose a disproportion between the taxation of Ireland and its taxable capacity as compared with the other parts of the kingdom, which is inconsistent with the spirit of the Act of Union and demands the immediate attention of Parliament." Mr. Dillon's alternative resolution was moved in the House of Commons by Mr. Blake. It was, however, opposed by all the Unionists, and was defeated by an overwhelming majority.[1] Several public meetings were subsequently held in Ireland, but they came to nothing, and the unjust taxation of Ireland continued.

But if the Government, strong in its majority, could set Irish agitation and Irish unity at defiance, and so make no serious attempt to readjust the fiscal burdens of Ireland and Great Britain, they could at least do something in relief of local taxation. Mr. Knox, M.P. for Derry, in 1896, moved that such relief should be given by extending the Agricultural Rating Act to Ireland, and thus relieve local rates as had been already done in England and Scotland. His motion was defeated, but it was renewed next year, on which occasion it was supported by the Irish Unionists. Again he was defeated. But a state of things which placed the Irish farmer at such a disadvantage compared with his British brother, and this in the face of the recent Report of the Financial Relations Commission, was too much even for Unionist newspapers, and the unyielding attitude of the Government was condemned. Inspired, it was said, by Mr. Chamberlain, Ministers retraced their steps. It was agreed to give £750,000 a year in relief of local rates; and this grant was accompanied by a Local Government Bill which passed into law in the session of 1898. This measure effected a revolutionary change in the system of county and district government. Hitherto non-representative

[1] *Annual Register*, 1897, p. 105.

bodies called Grand Juries managed county affairs—the repairs of roads and bridges, of county hospitals, asylums, court-houses and industrial schools. They had the appointment of all county officers, the duty of providing guarantees for tramways or railways when such required guarantees, and they had the power to levy and collect taxes for all these purposes. As Justices of the Peace they sat as *ex officios* at the Boards of Guardians, and in this way often exercised a controlling influence in the administration of poor relief. They had besides the duty of considering all criminal cases as a preliminary to having such cases tried at the County Assizes. Appointed by the High Sheriff, almost invariably a landlord, they were themselves landlords, with all the prejudices of the landlord class ; and whenever landlord privileges were assailed by agitation or violence, they were prodigal of resolutions demanding coercion laws. Under the Local Government Act they were still allowed to meet at Assizes and consider criminal cases. But their fiscal and administrative powers were transferred to popularly elected bodies. For the county the new body was the County Council, for the Unions the new body was the District Council. The franchise was to be the same as the Parliamentary franchise, and for membership every one of full age and of mental capacity, even women, was eligible. The only persons excepted were clergymen, the exclusion being due to the Parnellites, this, no doubt, in revenge for the opposition they had encountered at elections from the priests.[1]

To induce the representatives of the Irish landlords to acquiesce in the loss of their enormous powers, half the sum of £750,000 voted for relief of local taxation was to be given to the landlords. They had hitherto paid half the poor rates, and by this grant were entirely relieved. The other half of the sum named went in relief of county cess, and was so far a boon to tenants who had hitherto been compelled to pay the whole of the county cess. The Bill met with a favourable reception from all sides. Mr. Healy and Mr. Redmond praised it, Mr.

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[1] *A Guide to Irish Local Government*, by Muldoon and M'Sweeney. Dublin, 1898.

Dillon acknowledged that it would effect a far-reaching revolution in the conditions of Irish local government and Irish local life. The Irish Unionists acquiesced because they were relieved from the payment of poor rates. They swallowed the disagreeable dose when mixed with such a soothing draught.[1] In such circumstances the Bill passed with little opposition, and for the first time power passed from non-representative and often corrupt bodies into the hands of the people.

In the next year was passed an "Act for establishing a Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction in Ireland and for other purposes connected therewith." This concession was chiefly due to Mr. Horace Plunkett, M.P. He was a Protestant without a trace of bigotry; an admirer of Ulster energy and enterprise, but abhorring Orange intolerance; a landlord, but an indulgent one; a Unionist who gave credit to Home Rulers for good intentions; loyal to England, but condemning her oppression of Ireland in the past. Familiar with agricultural conditions on both sides of the Atlantic, he saw that Ireland—a purely agricultural country—was hopelessly outclassed in competition with other nations. Without looking to Government for aid, he thought that Irishmen might do much to help themselves. Outside the noisy arena of political combat, and laying aside for the moment their political and religious prejudices, he could not see why Irish farmers could not come together in association and combination. They could talk over their difficulties; they could combine to obtain better and cheaper manures and machinery and more favourable transport facilities; they could look for more suitable markets for their agricultural produce. But a landlord and a Unionist talking to National farmers was a voice crying in the wilderness, and it was not until 1894 that the Irish Agricultural Organization Society (I.A.O.S.) was established. Its progress was rapid, and by the end of 1898 there were branches in every county in Ireland. Some of these were agricultural societies, a greater number were dairy societies, others were poultry or home industries societies, and in not a few cases there were agricultural banks.[1] At the central branch Catholic priests and Unionist peers, landlords and farmers worked cordially, and in the country districts Catholic and Protestant clergymen were frequently present at the same meetings.

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[1] *Annual Register*, p. 69.

At the close of 1895 Mr. Plunkett thought the time had come to appeal to the Government. For the time Home Rule had ceased to be a living issue; but Mr. Plunkett believed there would be no difficulty in obtaining from Government the establishment of an Agricultural Board such as already existed in England, if only the Irish members would put forth a united and definite demand. With this object he invited all the Irish members and a few other prominent men to a conference at the close of the session of 1895. It was hence called the Recess Committee. The Anti-Parnellites held aloof, Mr. MacCarthy declaring that the object of Mr. Plunkett was to wean the people from Home Rule. Mr. Redmond, however, and his party joined in, as did many Unionists. Mr. T. P. Gill, once a Parnellite M.P., and an exceedingly able man, acted as secretary, and to obtain information he travelled through France and Denmark. Other valuable reports came from Wurtemberg, Belgium and Bavaria. Finally, Mr. Plunkett presented the Report of the Recess Committee in the autumn of 1896. He was careful to point out that he and his colleagues relied on individual and combined effort rather than on State aid. "In asking," he said, "for the latter we have throughout attached the utmost importance to its being granted in such a manner as to evoke and supplement the former; and if at the outset we appear to give undue prominence to the capabilities of State initiation, it must be remembered that we are dealing with economic conditions which have been artificially produced, and may therefore require exceptional treatment of a temporary nature to bring about a permanent remedy."[2] Mr. Balfour's reply was sympathetic, but nothing was done till 1899, when the Act setting up an Agricultural Board, with a revenue of nearly £170,000 a year, became law.

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[1] *Annual Register*, p. 209.

[2] *Report of the Recess Committee*, edited by T. P. Gill.

These concessions were the more remarkable when the weakness of the Opposition is considered. Lord Rosebery had proved an unfortunate selection as leader of the Liberals—a man without any deep conviction or any fixity of purpose. Finding himself unable to excite enthusiasm or command sufficient support, and that he appeared to divide the energies and try the faith of Liberals, he resigned the leadership in October 1896.[1] Without any formal recognition, Sir William Harcourt became leader; but he also had to complain that he was not given the undivided support of the party. In fact, Lord Rosebery's friends distrusted him and held aloof from him, and would have evidently preferred to follow some one else, now that Lord Rosebery was gone. In these circumstances Sir William Harcourt wished to abandon a position which he could not creditably fill. "I cannot," he said, "and I shall not consent to be a candidate for any contested position." He considered that a party rent by sectional disputes and personal interests could do nothing, and that a disputed leadership beset by distracted sections and complicating interests is an impossible situation.[2] Thus in the last days of 1898 the Liberal Party was again without a leader.

Meantime the old warrior who had so often led the Liberal hosts to victory had disappeared from the scene. Hating oppression to the last, he was enraged at the awful massacres of the Armenians by the Turks, and flinging aside the burden of years, he came forth from his books to arraign the Turks before mankind. His regret was that he was no longer able to assail them as he had formerly when they had been guilty of the Bulgarian atrocities. His last speech was at Liverpool in the end of 1896, a really marvellous performance for one on the threshold of his eighty-seventh year. During the next twelve months his vital energies grew weaker and weaker, and in May 1898 the end came. When it was announced, messages of condolence came from every part of the civilized world. A grave in Westminster Abbey was in due course provided to receive the remains of the illustrious dead, and in Parliament eloquent tributes were paid by the party leaders to the memory of one who had shed lustre upon the English name, and even upon the human race.[1] Mr. Dillon, on the part of the Irish members, spoke with feeling and with eloquence, and from every part of Ireland there was a responsive echo to his words. For the great statesman was loved and honoured in the cabins of the Irish poor. More than any other Englishman, living or dead, he had laboured on their behalf. He had freed them from the oppressions of an alien Church and from the grinding tyranny of a hated land system, and he had endeavoured to bring back to them their lost Parliament; and when they remembered these things they poured benedictions upon his name.[2]

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[1] *Annual Register*, p. 190.

[2] *Ibid.* 191-3.

At that date the Irish Party had fallen low in public esteem. Its unity and usefulness were gone. Individual members by their ability might make an impression in the House of Commons, but the party as such was absolutely powerless. In Ireland the public refused to subscribe to its maintenance, and little assistance came from across the Atlantic. Mr. Dillon did his best, but too much time was spent in denunciation of Mr. Healy, on whom the blame for everything was thrown. There was no real attempt, however, to meet the objections which Mr. Healy made. At last, Mr. Dillon realized that under his leadership unity was impossible, and in 1898 he suggested a conference of Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites. He even resigned the chair, professing his willingness to serve under a Parnellite chairman, a noble act of self-effacement and patriotism. But no Parnellite attended the conference except Mr. O'Kelly, though Mr. Harrington had already been working to bring about Union. Mr. Healy also was not averse, so long as Mr. Dillon was not in the chair. And Mr. O'Brien started the United League in 1898, an organization which was meant to take the place both of the National Federation and of what remained of the National

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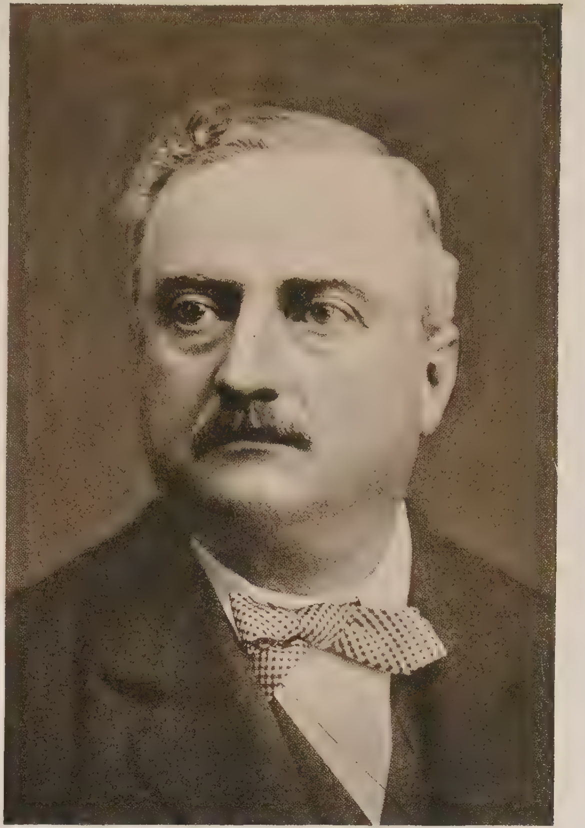
[1] Morley, ii. 760-73.

[2] *Review of Reviews*, June 1898.

Lawrence.

JOHN DILLON



Lawrence.

JOHN E. REDMOND

League. Spreading into other counties, the new organization spoke out for harmony among the leaders, and threatened with extinction those who still clung to the course of faction. These concurring causes were fruitful of good, and in 1900, after ten years of wasting war, all parties came together: Mr. Dillon ceased to be Chairman, and Mr. Redmond, the Parnellite leader, took his place, and unity became an accomplished fact.

CHAPTER XIX

The New Century

WHEN the old century went out the British Empire was at war with the two Boer republics of South Africa, the Orange River Free State and the Transvaal. Partly Dutch, partly German, partly French Huguenots, these Boers had settled in Cape Colony in the seventeenth century, and in 1815 came for the first time under British rule. Being slave-owners, and resenting bitterly the emancipation of their slaves in 1834, thousands of them (1834-7) trekked from Cape Colony northwards, settling in the territory which extends from the Orange River to the Limpopo, and finally forming two independent republics. They were a fighting race, fighting with the natives whom they dispossessed, fighting with the Zulus, fighting with the British, fighting among themselves. In 1877 the Transvaal was annexed by England; in 1880 the Boers rose in rebellion and defeated the British at Majuba Hill. The following year Mr. Gladstone gave back the Transvaal its independence, subject only to a shadowy British suzerainty, which became still more shadowy after the London Convention of 1884. The discovery of the Rand gold-fields brought thousands of miners, mostly British, to the Transvaal, and then fresh troubles began. The new owners — the Uitlanders, as they were called—had brought energy and capital, and soon made the Transvaal rich. But they could get no political rights, no votes, no share in the government; and at every turn they were hampered and harassed by corrupt officials, by insolent policemen, by excessive taxes, by Government concessions and monopolies. But the autocratic Transvaal chief, President Kruger, was unyielding. He disliked the British. He had formerly trekked from Cape Colony, and now he was again hemmed in by those from whom he had fled. Eastward was the small Portuguese territory of Lorenzo Marques, but south and south-east were the British Colonies of the Cape and Natal, while west was the British possession of Bechuanaland, and north the British flag had just been hoisted in the land of the Matabele. Kruger angrily declared he and his burghers were shut up in a kraal. The British authorities took sides with the Uitlanders, and as negotiations failed, war broke out in the end of 1899.

Large numbers of Irish Nationalists both inside and outside Parliament sympathized with the Boers. The sight of a small nation of farmers entering into a struggle with the mighty British Empire was one which appealed to the imagination. Every lover of freedom found it hard to repress his admiration at the gallant stand which these farmers made; nor was there scarce a parallel in history for the valour with which they encountered veteran troops, the skill with which they outmanœuvred experienced generals, and the victories which they gained even when vastly outnumbered by their foes. But with all their fine qualities these Boers were narrow-minded and illiberal, excessively cruel to their coloured servants, fanatically attached to their own creed, and fanatically intolerant of other creeds. As for Catholics, they regarded them as did the Scotch Covenanters of the seventeenth century, and had they taken possession of Cape Town the Catholics there dreaded the utter ruin of their Church. And yet the Boer leaders were regarded as heroes in Ireland, and the news of every Boer victory hailed with enthusiasm. Deeply humiliated because of the disasters which had overtaken their arms, the English bitterly resented the conduct of the Irish. The Unionists pointed to these manifestations of hatred towards England, and used them as an argument against Home Rule; and at the General Election in October 1900 the Liberals were taunted with being the allies of traitors who cheered England's enemies and longed for the dismemberment of the British Empire. Nor can there be any doubt that voters were thus influenced and votes lost to the friends of Home Rule.

On their side the Liberals retorted that the Unionists, though many years in office, had done nothing to redeem the promises they had formerly made at the polls. They had done nothing to give better houses to the working classes in towns, and nothing to lighten the burden of poverty and old age by giving pensions to the aged poor. The Liberals also complained that the Unionists had dissolved on a worn-out register. But these accusations were made in vain. The Unionists had selected their time well, when the disasters of the early part of the war were forgotten in the news of Lord Roberts' recent victories. In the autumn of 1900 it was believed in England—erroneously, as it proved—that the war was over; and the fact that the Boers had been beaten, that Majuba had been avenged, and that in consequence the richest gold-fields in the world would soon be a British possession, was highly agreeable to British pride as well as to British greed. The Unionists were therefore returned with an enormous majority. Their total strength was 402; their opponents being but 268, of these 186 being Liberals and 82 Nationalists. This meant no change in Ireland. South Dublin and a division of Dublin City had been wrested from the Unionists, but the latter had won Derry City and Galway.[1]

With Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites acting together the Nationalists ought to have done better. The explanation is that the spirit of faction still survived. Mr. William O'Brien was then the most potent man among the popular leaders. His organization, the United Irish League, by advocating compulsory purchase, had readily obtained recruits among the farmers, and had already extended so much that it became the dominant factor at elections, and it had powerfully, even decisively, operated in bringing Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites together. But while Mr. O'Brien welcomed the adhesion of Mr. Redmond, he wanted no co-operation with Mr. Healy. At League meetings Mr. Healy's friends were spoken of as public enemies, and when Mr. Healy refused to attend the National Convention in June, he was fiercely assailed. His friends were hunted down at the General Election, and driven from the seats they had filled, and Mr. Healy himself was also attacked in North Louth by Mr. O'Brien in person. His constituents, however, were resolved not to part with their brilliant member, and Mr. Healy was returned. But when the General Election was over, a National Convention was again summoned and met in December, and one of its first acts was to attack Mr. Healy. His expulsion from the party was proposed by Mr. O'Brien himself in a speech of great eloquence and great bitterness. The motion was supported by Mr. Dillon, and though opposed strongly, even vehemently, by Mr. Harrington, it was carried. Mr. Redmond, who filled the chair, disapproved of what was being done, wishing for a real union among all Irish Nationalists, but he bowed to the declared will of the Convention, and Mr. Healy was driven from the party.[1]

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 194-211.

In April 1900 the Queen paid a visit to Ireland. It was said she wanted, in doing so, to mark her appreciation of the conduct of the Irish soldiers in the war, who in every battle in which they were engaged had shown the traditional valour of their race. In January of the next year the Queen died. During her reign, in its length unprecedented in British history, the Empire had advanced enormously in trade and commerce, in extent of possessions, in population and in wealth. The standard of comfort among the masses had become higher, popular liberties had been so extended that the people had become the masters in the land, and though other nations had grown great and other empires risen, England was still the unquestioned mistress of the sea. The people respected their Sovereign because of the pride she took in her world-wide Empire, because of her devotion to her public duties, because of her tact and good sense, and her respect for constitutional forms. They respected her because of the order and decorum maintained at her Court, because of the purity of her domestic life. And though she died with the burden of more than eighty years upon her, at an age long past the usually allotted span, the grief of the nation was profound. The pomp of the funeral procession and of the funeral service, and the tributes in Parliament, were clothed with a certain air of formality, because they were usual and prescribed. But there was grief which no State formality called forth, from the cities and towns and villages, from the people of Canada and Australia and India, from the Maoris of New Zealand and from the islands in the Southern seas.[1] Ireland alone stood sullenly apart. As she had in the Jubilee year of 1887 no share in the nation's joy, she had now no share in the nation's sorrow. For it was remembered that the dead Queen cared little for Ireland and had no sympathy with Irish popular demands. She regretted the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, she disliked the various Land Acts, she abhorred Home Rule ; and while she was the friend of Disraeli whom Ireland detested, she disliked Gladstone whom Ireland loved.

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[1] *Freeman's Journal.*

This refusal to weep when England wept, this continued sympathy with Boer victories and continued rejoicing at British defeats, did not help Ireland in Parliament, and in 1900 there was no mention of Ireland in the Queen's Speech. Nor was there in the Royal Speech of the following year, except some vague promise that a measure might be introduced "for regulating sale by landlords to occupying tenants in Ireland."[2] Mr. Redmond, however, wanted compulsory purchase, and moved an amendment to the Address asking for such. He was supported by Mr. T. W. Russell and by many of the Liberals, with the result, which was not unhopeful, that 140 voted with him against 235 on the side of the Government.[3] Mr. William O'Brien was not so well supported on his motion censuring the harsh enforcement of the Coercion Act.[4] Nor did this motion check the Irish Executive in its attacks on the United Irish League. Public speeches were carefully noted, public meetings watched by the police and sometimes broken up, and in the years 1901 and 1902 forty-two prominent persons were sent to prison for political offences. Eleven of these were members of Parliament, two were ex-members, several others were newspaper editors, and one was a lady—the owner of the *Waterford Star*.[1] In 1902 the King's Speech was silent about Ireland, and again Mr. Redmond moved an amendment advocating compulsory purchase, and condemning the enforcement of Coercion. The Government indeed admitted that there was no serious crime in Ireland, but there were conspiracies against the payment of rent and there was boycotting, and to meet such cases the weapons of Coercion had been used. As to compulsory sale, the Chief Secretary would have none of it ; but he was willing to promote measures for the encouragement of agriculture, industry, and education, in the honest belief that such work was good and was worth doing.[2] In the division Mr. Redmond was, of course, defeated ; but it was satisfactory for him to note that he had the support of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Morley and of 70 Liberals. Better results than this could not be expected as long as the Irish Nationalists continued to shout for the Boer leaders at public meetings, and to cheer Boer victories even in the House of Commons. These cheers did the Boers no good and received from them no recognition, nor did they do England any harm. But they outraged English opinion and irritated those whom the Irish members, if they wanted anything for their country, were bound to persuade. Mr. Dillon rebuked such tactless outbursts of impotent disaffection. But harm was done nevertheless.[3] Lord Rosebery was angry and vowed he would not consent to have a Parliament at Dublin. Mr. Asquith was not so emphatic, but his views were substantially the same. Even so staunch and tried a friend of Ireland as Mr. Morley, while still faithful to Home Rule, deplored " the bad feeling and want of decency " of these Irish members who laughed and jeered at the capture and humiliation of a British General.[4] One noted enemy of Ireland disappeared from the scene during the year in the person of Lord Salisbury, who resigned the Premiership and was succeeded by Mr. Arthur Balfour. And the Irish Secretary brought in a Land Purchase Bill, which was not, however, persevered with, though it met with a favourable reception from the Irish members.[1] Beyond this Ireland's interest in the Parliamentary history of the year was little, and 1902 like 1901 might be regarded as a barren year.

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 8-20 ; *Times*, Jan. 23.

[2] *Annual Register*, p. 24.

[3] *Ibid.* for 1902, pp. 36-37.

[4] *Ibid.* 38-39.

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[1] Davitt's *Fall of Feudalism*, pp. 700-701.
[2] *Annual Register*, pp. 27-30.
[3] *Ibid.* for 1902, p. 86.
[4] *Ibid.* 91-92.

At that date the outlook was not bright. The Land Courts were blocked, and thousands, unable to get their cases taken up, were compelled to pay rents which were too high. In spite of the Land Purchase Acts of 1891 and 1896, land purchase was proceeding slowly. And meantime the strongest, the healthiest, the most enterprising among the young Irish peasants were flying from Ireland, leaving the weaker behind. The poorhouses were well filled, and in every county, even with a diminishing population, the asylums were being enlarged. There was discontent and disaffection all over the land. The farmer was unable to get his rent fixed, and even when he did he had but a lease of fifteen years, at the end of which the rent was to be again fixed. And in order to get a still greater reduction than formerly he let his land become deteriorated as he approached the end of the judicial term. The tenant who had not bought his holding, because he and his landlord could not agree as to the price, was envious of his neighbour who had already become a peasant proprietor, and who, with a great reduction in his yearly payments, was becoming the owner of his holding. Yet the extreme men belonging to the different parties in Ireland had nothing to propose but to continue their quarrels. The landlords, unable either to learn or forget, still wept over their vanished power, and clinging tenaciously to what was left to them, refused to sell their properties except at a prohibitive price; and at the least sign of agitation among their tenants they raised the old cry for Coercion. The tenants' representatives, grudging the landlords anything but the price of their tickets to England, wished that agitation should continue. As for the Orangemen, even the farmers, they were reluctant to join hands with their Catholic fellow-tenants, and readily listened to interested orators who talked of the Boyne and Aughrim and of William of Orange.

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 102-3.

But there were moderate men as well as extreme men. There were landlords like Lord Dunraven who disliked Home Rule, but disliked Dublin Castle just as much, and who, believing that land purchase was the only solution of Irish Land questions, wished that it should go on more rapidly. There were tenants' representatives who did not wish for the ruin of the landlords, but wanted them to remain in Ireland, having disposed of their properties. And there were Orangemen who thronged to hear Mr. T. W. Russell and cheered him when he advocated compulsory sale.

Noting all these things, a young Galway landlord, Captain Shawe Taylor, in the end of 1902 addressed a letter to representative men of the different parties, inviting them to a conference on the Land question—the hope being that by mutual concession and compromise a solution might be found. By many of the landlords the invitation was coldly received, while Mr. Redmond described it as a " white flag " hung out by the landlords. But the moderates on both sides asserted themselves. Their hands were strengthened by a statement of the Chief Secretary that it was impossible for any Government to settle the Irish Land question ; it must be settled by the parties interested, and then the Government would as far as possible give effect to the settlement arrived at. Any such settlement necessarily involved holding a conference. It was held in the end of December 1902, under the chairmanship of Lord Dunraven. The other landlord representatives were Lord Mayo, Colonel Poe, and Colonel Everard. The tenants were represented by Messrs. Redmond, Harrington, William O'Brien, and T. W. Russell ; Captain Shawe Taylor acted as Secretary.[1] Reason and compromise soon showed themselves in the deliberations which followed. Recognizing that the days of their ascendancy were over, the landlords agreed that dual ownership ought to be abolished, and that until it was there would be no peace in Ireland. The tenants' representatives agreed that the landlords ought to get a price for their land which would leave them their net second term incomes. This could be done by lowering the rate of interest on the purchase money, and by spreading out the payments over a long term of years. This would postpone the day at which the tenant would be complete owner of his holding, and it would involve giving a higher price, but not necessarily a higher annual payment ; and, after all, the immediate reduction with the prospect of ultimate ownership was all that the tenant sought.

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 247-9.

It was agreed, further, at the conference that when the landlord insisted on a higher price than the tenant was willing to give, the State should step in and bridge over the difference between the contracting parties. With great advantage the State might thus vote even a large sum, for the settlement of the Land question would effect a considerable saving in public expenditure. The Land Commission Courts and the Land Judges Court cost between them annually a sum of more than £300,000.[1] In addition to this, an enormous police force was maintained chiefly for the purpose of keeping landlords and tenants from coming to blows ; and it was notorious that the crime and outrage which sometimes stained the annals of the country had their origin in agrarian disputes. The recommendations of the Land Conference were agreed to unanimously, and were welcomed by the Government, and in the following February a Land Purchase Bill, partly based on these recommendations, was introduced.

At that date the Chief Secretary for Ireland was Mr. George Wyndham. He was an Englishman and a Tory pledged irrevocably against Home Rule, and as such in little favour with Irish Nationalists. Their aversion to him was all the greater because he had acted as Secretary to Mr. Arthur Balfour during the exciting times of the Plan of Campaign war, and especially because he was known to be in complete sympathy with the views of his chief as to the iniquity of the Plan and as to the necessity for putting down its advocates.

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[1] Dunraven, *The Outlook in Ireland*, p. 62.

Worst of all, since he became Chief Secretary himself, Mr. Wyndham had put the Coercion Act in force and thrown many of the popular leaders into prison. Yet it was difficult to dislike him. Genial, warm-hearted, witty and kind, an author, a poet, an eloquent speaker, he is an aristocrat with democratic instincts, a man who, in spite of his birth and surroundings, feels for the people and is ready to do battle on their behalf. On the affections of Irishmen he has special claims, for he is the grandson of Pamela FitzGerald, and therefore great-grandson of Lord Edward, one of Ireland's best-beloved sons. And Mr. Wyndham is proud of his Irish blood, and has never concealed his partiality for Ireland, nor his desire to do something on her behalf.[1] He viewed the assembling of the Land Conference with the greatest sympathy, and was well pleased that its proceedings were so harmonious, and its conclusions arrived at with unanimity. Nor can there be any doubt that he wished to carry out its recommendations in their entirety, and would have done so had he been able to obtain the consent of his colleagues in the Cabinet.

His Bill contemplated the total abolition of Irish landlordism and the final settlement of the Irish Land question, and for this purpose a sum of £100,000,000 was to be advanced by the State to enable the tenants to buy. In addition there was to be a bonus of £12,000,000 given to the landlords who sold, this being an inducement to them to sell. If, therefore, the tenant agreed to buy his holding at £100, the landlord received £112, the extra amount being the bonus of 12 per cent. The Land Conference agreed that the landlord should get such a sum as, when invested at 3 per cent, would bring him his net income from second term rents, this being calculated at 90 per cent of the total. Mr. Wyndham undertook to provide him with this, the money to be advanced to the tenant to be repayable in sixty-eight years at $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. The landlord was to be paid not in land stock, but in cash, the cash to be raised by a Government flotation of stock, and the loss on flotation, if any, to be made good out of the yearly agricultural grant.

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[1] *Review of Reviews*, April 1903.

The Bill provided that, as a result of his bargain, judicial tenants were not to get on first term rents less than 20 per cent nor more than 40 per cent, and on second term rents not less than 10 per cent nor more than 30 per cent. This was called buying within the zones, and in such cases there was no need for inspection by the Estates Commission officials. Obviously the intention was to avoid delay in transferring the land from landlord to tenant, and this was done by the omission of inspection. And equally plain was the intention to raise the price in the landlord's favour by limiting the reduction given to the tenant, and by lowering the rate of interest from 4 per cent to 3¼ per cent. The landlord was also saved the trouble and expense of proving title, for this was done by the Estates Commissioners created by the Bill when passed.

Never before had such a favourable reception been given to any measure dealing with the thorny subject of Irish land. The Irish leader, Mr. John Redmond, described it as "the greatest measure of land purchase reform ever seriously offered to the Irish people, and that it is intended to contain, and may quite easily be made to contain, all the elements of a settlement of the Irish agrarian difficulty and the ending of the Irish land war, the permanent unity of all classes in Ireland, and the laying broad and sure of the foundations of social peace."[1] Mr. T. W. Russell supported it because it represented the passing of Irish landlordism, "the beginning of the end of as tragic a story as the history of any civilized country presents."[2] Mr. Dillon saw that the Chief Secretary was desirous of signalizing his tenure of office "by solving the question which has proved too hard a nut to crack for many of his predecessors."[3] Mr. William O'Brien spoke in the same strain as did Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon. Mr. Healy regarded it as marking "a reversal of a long period of dismal oppression and awful woe, of a breach of treaty faith committed two centuries ago, but having to this day left a living effect. This Bill will change more than Ireland, it will change England too, and

[1] Hansard, cxxi. 1208. [2] *Ibid.* 1266. [3] *Ibid.* 1304.

with that change I hope to see a brighter light in the eyes of dark Rosaleen."[1] The opposition leaders were not unfriendly, and when Mr. Wyndham summed up the second reading debate in a speech of singular eloquence, 443 voted with him, while only 26 went into the lobby against the Bill.[2]

In the minority were men who were reluctant to pledge British credit for such men as the Irish landlords, though the plea that Irish tenants might repudiate their bargains was not seriously put forth in face of the punctuality with which former tenant-purchasers had paid their instalments. On the other hand, the tenants' representatives objected to many things in the Bill, and in Committee Messrs. Redmond, Dillon, Healy, William O'Brien, and T. W. Russell fought hard to have it amended. They objected that it did nothing for the evicted tenants or for the labourers. They objected to the zones as meant to unduly inflate the price of Irish land. They objected to give the landlords a 3 per cent security instead of the uncertain security even of his second term rents. They objected to the abolition of the decadal reductions. They objected to have one-fourth of the tenants compelled to buy when three-fourths agreed to buy. They objected to the omission of inspection, the effect of which would be that neither the interests of the tenants nor the State were sufficiently safeguarded. They objected that non-judicial tenants should not have their rents first reduced before negotiating a purchase. They objected to have Mr. Wrench, the landlord Commissioner, secured in his position, while the other Commissioners, Mr. Bailey and Mr. Finucane, were to hold office "during pleasure."[3] And Mr. Russell vehemently protested against the proposed rent-charge payable to the State even after the sixty-eight years during which the terminable annuity was payable. Finally, larger powers, and especially compulsory powers for acquiring land, were demanded for the Congested Districts Board.

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[1] Hansard, cxxii. 66.

[2] *Ibid.* 148.

[3] This provision was altered by the Evicted Tenants Act of 1907, under which Mr. Bailey and Mr. Finucane were given a judicial tenure.

Though these objections were urged with great ability, Mr. Wyndham on some points was unyielding. He would do nothing for the labourers, nor would he give compulsory powers to the Congested Districts Board, and he insisted on not having any decadal reductions, nor would he abolish the zones. But he consented to abolish the perpetual rent charge ; he admitted non-judicial tenants to the benefits of the Bill ; he consented to do something real for the evicted tenants ; and he placed all the Estates Commissioners beyond the reach of arbitrary dismissal.[1] Through all the stages of the Bill his tact, his care, his patience, his conciliatory manner, his complete mastery of all the details of the measure, were beyond all praise, and merited encomiums from all quarters of the House. Almost with unanimity the third reading was passed. In the Lords some minor amendments were inserted, and in part agreed to in the House of Commons, and at last the Bill was turned into an Act of Parliament.[2] It was not a perfect piece of legislation, but it was an enormous advance on anything which had preceded it, and was rightly described by Mr. T. W. Russell as "the greatest measure passed for Ireland since the Union."[3]

The landlords had certainly fared well. In most cases their estates were mortgaged at a high rate of interest. The extinction of these mortgages was calculated to be equal to two years' purchase money, the bonus equal to three years, the taking over the law costs by the Estates Commission was equal to another year. It was an enormous advantage to get cash instead of land stock, which within the previous years had sunk well below par. And a most advantageous provision for the landlord was that he could sell all his estate and then buy back his residence and demesne on easy terms. This was considered equal to two years' purchase.[4] Seeing, then, on the one hand the many inducements the landlord had to sell, and on the other the feverish anxiety of the tenant to be done with landlordism and to become the owner of his farm, it was little wonder that bargains were quickly entered into and that land purchase proceeded rapidly.

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[1] Hansard, cxxii. cxxiii. cxxiv. cxxv., especially cxxv. 1322-9 — Mr. Redmond's Speech.

[2] *Annual Register*, pp. 181-2.

[3] Hansard, cxxv. 1349.

[4] Davitt's *Fall of Feudalism*, pp. 710-12 ; see copy of the Act.

It proceeded too rapidly for the taste of some of the tenants' representatives. Mr. Dillon, for instance, had always looked askance at the Land Conference, and thought that Lord Dunraven and his friends were getting too much. He could not see why land which for the previous twenty years had been bought at 17 years' purchase, and often less, could now be worth 24 years' purchase, and even 27 years' purchase, and this without adding the bonus and other advantages. These latter were calculated to equal 6 years' purchase, so that the result of Wyndham's Act was to raise the price of land from 17 or 18 years' purchase to 30 years' or more. Mr. Davitt's views coincided with those of Mr. Dillon. Mr. Sexton was also on the same side, and with his great financial ability had no difficulty in proving, in the pages of the *Freeman's Journal*, that the tenants who were buying under Wyndham's Act at the extravagant prices ruling were making a bad bargain.[1] Mr. William O'Brien, on the other hand, had gladly entered into the Land Conference and gladly signed its recommendations. He welcomed the Act of 1903, and wanted it carried out as rapidly as possible, so that landlordism should disappear. He knew well that under former Purchase Acts a lower rate of purchase prevailed. Many of the landlords who sold their estates were plunged in financial difficulties and had no option but to sell. These needy and embarrassed landlords were now sold out, and the landlords who remained were in most cases solvent and had no interest in selling unless very tempting inducements were held out to them. And Mr. O'Brien did not grudge to give them a high price, seeing that the tenants got the money at such a low rate of interest that, while giving an increased number of years' purchase, there was no corresponding increase in the amount of their own terminable annuities. Mr. O'Brien, indeed, became so indignant with the *Freeman's Journal* and its friends, that as a protest he resigned his seat in

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[1] Davitt, pp. 709-10.

Parliament in January 1904. But his constituents at Cork were not willing to lose his services, and they re-elected him, thus showing that they approved of his conduct, as they disapproved of those who belittled the Land Conference and the legislation to which it gave rise. Nor did the tenants in other parts of Ireland differ from the Cork men ; and in spite of the arguments and figures of the *Freeman's Journal*, bargains were made every day ; and within the first year from the passing of Mr. Wyndham's Act land was sold amounting to £15,000,000.[1] The loans sanctioned, it is true, did not amount to more than a third of this amount ; but greater rapidity was to be expected when the initial difficulties of a new department were surmounted ; and the prospect was that in a few years the Land question, which had perplexed so many statesmen, would be finally settled.

But if compromise and conciliation had in this matter done so much, it might surely be tried in other directions, and in 1903 the landlords of the Land Conference Committee formed themselves into the Irish Reform Association. As Unionists they would not interfere with the Act of Union, and therefore they looked with disfavour on Home Rule. They could not indeed deny that Ireland had decayed since the Union, but they denied that this decay was a necessary consequence of the Union.[2] It was due to unjust taxation imposed on Ireland in direct opposition to Union promises and Union engagements ; to an anomalous system of centralized government, which was wasteful and extravagant, taking no account of popular representation and popular wishes ; to the fact that the English people did not yet appreciate Ireland's needs, and that the British Parliament was unable to attend fully to Irish business. As a remedy they proposed a devolution to Ireland of a larger measure of local government than she possessed.[3] They wanted to have set up an Irish Financial Council, partly elected, partly nominated, the business of which would be to propose and submit the annual estimates for Ireland to the British Parliament. Given Irish revenue, less a fixed contribution for Imperial purposes, the Council would supervise and control every item of Irish expenditure; it would effect economies, check extravagance, promote efficiency in Irish government. In addition it was proposed to have a statutory body made up of Irish peers and Irish members of Parliament, as well as members of the Financial Council, this body to have the power of private Bill legislation, and such other powers as might be delegated to it from time to time by the British Parliament. Lord Dunraven and his colleagues wanted to see land purchase rapidly carried out; they wanted something done for the better housing of labourers; they wanted the whole system of education to be remodelled; and they admitted that in the matter of higher education the Catholics suffered grave injustice.[1]

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[1] *Annual Register*, p. 240.

[2] Lord Dunraven's *The Outlook in Ireland*, p. 141.

[3] Dunraven, pp. 272-82.

This was Devolution. It fell far short of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule, but nevertheless aimed at fundamental changes in Irish government, and went far beyond the emphatic negative of extreme Unionism. In Ireland its most noted exponent was Lord Dunraven. But it had friends in England too. It was widely believed that the King, in so far as he could express approval of any political association, was in its favour. It was well known that he was not unfriendly to Irish popular demands, and this accounts for the favourable reception he received in Ireland in 1903 and again in 1904. The Irish Viceroy, Lord Dudley, was certainly in accord with Lord Dunraven, and so was Mr. Balfour, and there could be little doubt as to the attitude of Mr. Wyndham. In the end of 1902 he appointed Sir Antony MacDonnell Under-Secretary for Ireland. Sir Antony was an Irish Catholic who had greatly distinguished himself in the Indian Civil Service, and had just retired after having spent nearly forty years in India. To Mr. Wyndham's offer of the Irish post he answered that he was "attracted by the chance of doing some good for Ireland." But a man who had ruled millions of men in India, who was a member of the Indian Council, and might if he wished be Governor of Bombay, was not willing to be the mere head of an Irish department. And he told Mr. Wyndham that he was an Irish Catholic and a Liberal, and was not going to lay aside his religious or political convictions, nor could he accept a mere secretarial position. If he went to Ireland as Under-Secretary, he should be Mr. Wyndham's colleague rather than his subordinate; he should have adequate opportunities of influencing the policy and acts of the Irish Administration. "In Ireland," he said, "my aim would be the maintenance of order, the solution of the Land question on the basis of voluntary sale, the fixing of rents where sales may not take place on some self-acting principle whereby local inquiries would be obviated; the co-ordination, control, and direction of Boards and other administrative agencies; the settlement of the Education question in the general spirit of Mr. Balfour's views; and the general promotion of material improvement and administrative conciliation." Mr. Wyndham accepted Sir Antony's conditions, and so did Mr. Balfour, and one of the first results of the new departure in Unionist policy was the Land Purchase Act of 1903.[1]

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[1] Dunraven, pp. 233-4.

The Orange landlords had no objection to a Purchase Act which filled their pockets with hard cash and unduly inflated the price of Irish land. But when it was proposed further to take counsel with Catholic Bishops and concede their claims in the matter of University education, they took instant and violent alarm. Long accustomed to monopoly and privilege, to domination rather than equality, they wanted no Hercules to cleanse the Augean stable of Dublin Castle; and all through 1904 their language about Sir Antony MacDonnell was that of bitter denunciation. A Papist Under-Secretary, they said, in league with Papists, was the ruler of Ireland, and under a Conservative Government loyal Orangemen were betrayed. As for Lord Dunraven and his colleagues of the Reform Association, they were but Home Rulers in disguise, traitors within the fortress ready to throw open the gates to the besiegers.

[1] Dunraven, pp. 288-90.

On the platform and in the press, in speeches and in writing, in resolutions and leading articles, the party of ascendancy indulged alternately in lamentation and defiance. Mr. Wyndham's courage failed him, and wishing to allay the storm he was careful to announce that he disapproved of Lord Dunraven's programme.[1] Mr. Balfour was equally scared by the roll of the Orange drum, and hastened to find refuge in denial and retreat. But Sir Antony MacDonnell remained unmoved. He is a man who has never known fear, and he had Drummond's contempt for Orange insolence and Orange bigotry, for Orange threats and Orange bravado, knowing well that Orange courage was no better than that of Bob Acres. His resignation would have eased the situation for Mr. Wyndham, and would, no doubt, have been welcomed by Mr. Balfour. But Sir Antony had in no way violated the conditions under which he took office, and was in no humour to surrender to unreasoning clamour. In these circumstances Mr. Wyndham resolved to efface himself, and early in 1905 resigned the office of Chief Secretary.[2] His successor was Mr. Walter Long, a man who knew little about Ireland, but was well known to have no sympathy with devolution or indeed with any reform. He was therefore welcomed as a friend of reactionary landlords and Orange lodges, and continued to hold office to the end of the existing Parliament.

Then came the General Election of 1906. The Unionists had then spent nearly twenty years in office. Home Rule was responsible for their victory of 1886, Liberal divisions for that of 1895, and in 1900 they had triumphed because the country believed the war was over. But it continued for two years more, and involved the loss of many thousands of lives and the expenditure of £250,000,000, and the conquered territory was filled with ruined townships and blackened farm-houses, with the wailing of widows and orphans, and the muttered curses against England of beaten and disaffected Boers. Many now thought that these horrors might have been avoided, and even President Kruger's obstinacy overcome, if Mr.

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 242-3.

[2] *Review of Reviews*, March 1905.

Chamberlain had been less imperious and aggressive. And surely it was his duty before going to war to see that the British Empire was prepared. Yet a Royal Commission found in August 1903 that the Government was hopelessly unprepared when war broke out. The Generals sent to Africa got no definite instructions, the ammunition supplied was defective, the rifles unsuitable, the uniforms of the wrong colour, and the disasters and mishaps which occurred showed plainly that the Generals selected were not equal to their commands.[1] At the critical moment Mr. Chamberlain turned public attention from these things by resigning his seat in the Cabinet in September 1903, the better to advocate Tariff Reform. Maintaining that Free Trade was a mistake, he proposed that taxes should be imposed on foreign imported manufactures, and that corn and bacon should be taxed ; while, as a result of closer commercial relations with the Colonies, colonial imports might be admitted as heretofore.[2] But the English voter wanted cheap food and would have neither protective taxation nor preferential tariffs, and the Liberal leaders took the field against Mr. Chamberlain. A good section of the Unionists, under the Duke of Devonshire, clung to Free Trade, and founded the Free Food League.[3] All through 1904 and 1905 the battle was waged. Other matters which militated against the Government were their Licensing Bill, giving compensation for licences extinguished,[4] and the admission of Chinese to work in the Transvaal mines.[5] The tide turned early in 1904 and continued at all the by-elections of that and the following year; and when the General Election came, in January 1906, the Unionists were overwhelmed. Counting Tories and Liberal Unionists, only 158 of them were returned, Mr. Balfour himself being among those who fell on the field of battle.

In Ireland there was rejoicing. West Belfast had been captured from the Tories, and shortly after the General Election both Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Healy, who had been outside the party, came back to the fold, and henceforth the whole Nationalist strength of 83 members was at the service of Ireland. It was matter for congratulation also that the new Premier was Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, a man who had never wavered in his Home Rule convictions. And there were such staunch Home Rulers in the new Cabinet as Mr. Morley, Mr. Lloyd-George, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Birrell, and Lords Tweedmouth and Loreburn. On the other hand the Liberal Imperialists were largely represented. Sir Edward Grey was made Foreign Secretary, Mr. Haldane Secretary for War, Mr. Asquith Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Cabinet offices were also given to Sir Henry Fowler and Lord Crewe. All these were politicians of the type of Lord Rosebery, and cared little for Home Rule. The new Lord-Lieutenant was Lord Aberdeen, so favourably known already in Ireland. The new Chief Secretary was Mr. Bryce, a great scholar, a great linguist, a great traveller, an author of repute, an expert on questions of constitutional law, and thoroughly sound on the question of Home Rule. For the moment, however, this latter question had receded into the background. It had not been made an issue at the General Election, and therefore all hope of having a Home Rule Bill introduced in the immediate future must be abandoned. For the Irish Nationalists, even with the aid of the Unionists, were powerless against the enormous numbers on the Liberal side. But there were other Irish questions claiming urgent attention. There was, for instance, a difficulty in financing sales under Wyndham's Act, and there were the questions of congestion, of the evicted tenants, and of University education. Nothing was done, however, in the session of 1906, and early in 1907 Mr. Bryce left Ireland to take up the position of British Ambassador at Washington.

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[1] *Annual Register*, pp. 189-91. [2] *Ibid.* for 1903, pp. 197-200, 206-12. [3] *Ibid.* 228-9. [4] *Ibid.* for 1904, p. 188. [5] *Ibid.* 47.

In 1904 Mr. Stead suggested that Mr. T. W. Russell should be appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland,[1] and in 1907 he would have been an admirable selection. Mr. Russell is a Scotchman born, but has lived since his boyhood in Ireland, and, like many others who have come over, he has become

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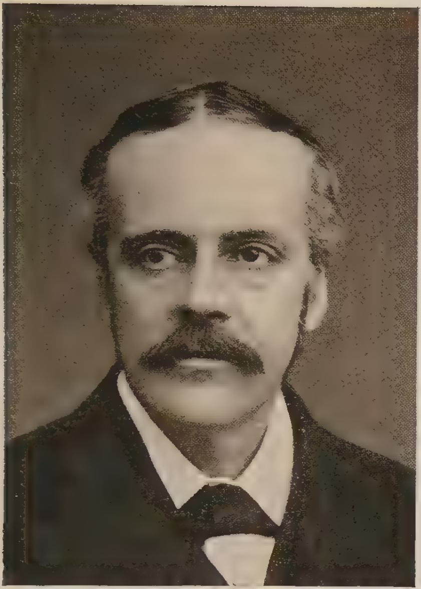
[1] *Review of Reviews*, February 1904.

"more Irish than the Irish themselves." Not born in the purple, he has not had a University training, but has instead graduated in the university of the world. Gifted with great natural ability, he has always been fond of books, and by industry, perseverance, sobriety, and thrift has been able to educate himself and win his way to position and influence. As Secretary to the Irish Temperance Association, he had for many years to exercise largely both his voice and pen, and with such effect that when he entered Parliament in 1885 he was even then a ready and powerful debater. In the years following he was often heard on public questions in Parliament, on the platform, and in the pages of reviews. He was then a Liberal-Unionist, and in Lord Salisbury's Government of 1895 was given the office of Secretary to the Local Government Board. But Mr. Russell is not a mere time-server, and in spite of Lord Salisbury's frowns he championed Ulster tenants against Ulster landlords, and in consequence was deprived of office in 1900. After that date he continued to advocate compulsory sale. He had a large share in the Land Conference and in Wyndham's Act; he favoured the grant of a Catholic University, the reinstatement of the evicted tenants, and better houses for labourers; and he grew to dislike more and more the bureaucratic government of Dublin Castle. While retaining the grit and tenacity of the Scotchman, Mr. Russell has acquired the Irishman's warmth of heart and kindly nature. His eye kindles as he denounces Irish landlord iniquity, and his voice grows husky as he talks of the struggling artisan or labourer in his humble cottage, or of the rack-rented tenant driven from his fields. By 1907 Mr. Russell had grown to be one of the most powerful men on the Liberal side of the House of Commons, one of the greatest Parliamentarians of his time. His great talents, his courage, his resource, his thorough knowledge of Ireland and her needs, eminently fitted him for the post of Chief Secretary. But he had to be satisfied with the lesser position of Vice-President of the Agricultural Board in succession to Sir Horace Plunkett, while the higher position of Chief Secretary fell to an Englishman, Mr. Birrell.


Stereoscopic.

ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR

Beresford.

GEORGE WYNDHAM

Elliott & Fry.

T. W. RUSSELL

Elliott & Fry.

AUGUSTINE BIRRELL

Until he became a Cabinet Minister in 1906, Mr. Birrell was best known as an author. There is surely no finer specimen of high-class literary gossip than his delightful essays.[1] Passing rapidly from Milton and Johnson to Carlyle and Matthew Arnold, from Swift and Bolingbroke to De Quincey and Newman, and back again to Richardson and Pope and Burke, he seems familiar with everything written by these authors, and indeed with everything written by the great masters in English literature. Without a trace of pedantry, we can see that his knowledge is encyclopædic, that he has not only read, but read with care, that his literary judgments, though not pretending to profundity, are never arbitrary, and will survive the assaults of even seasoned critics, and that from the first page to the last there is not a dull line. Incidentally we learn that he is a Nonconformist and does not like the Catholic Church, though he has unbounded admiration for Newman. Besides being a literary man of eminence, Mr. Birrell was also a lawyer of experience, and he had also made some brilliant speeches both on the platform and in Parliament. But as to his being a successful minister, Mr. Stead, in 1906, regarded him as "the darkest of dark horses." It soon appeared that the dark horse could go far, that the literary man and lawyer was a statesman as well; and in 1906 his conduct of the English Education Bill was beyond all praise. That it did not become an Act was due to the House of Lords and not to him, and such was the ability he showed that the Premier selected him to succeed Mr. Bryce.

His new position, the grave of many reputations, must have been accepted by him with misgiving, for the difficulties which confronted him were many. The Town Tenants Act passed in 1906 was but a small measure and did not satisfy the town tenants, because it did not sufficiently safeguard their interests. The evicted tenants and the labourers clamoured for legislation. Dublin Castle and all it represented in Irish Government still remained. The University question remained unsettled. The land sales effected under Wyndham's Act of 1903 were not yet carried through, for the landlord could not get his money nor the tenant his land. The Congested Districts Board had done much to help local industries, and to erect piers, and harbours, and fishing-stations along the coast; but so far it had merely nibbled at the big and complex problem of migration in the West. Nor was it easy for any Board or any official to solve any such problem and at the same time satisfy public opinion, seeing the attack that was made in Parliament in 1907 on Mr. Commissioner Bailey. Under the Land Purchase Act of 1903, Mr. Wrench was intended to represent the landlords' interest, and in this respect he had never been remiss. Mr. Finucane was expected to regard land transactions from the tenants' point of view. The third Commissioner, Mr. Bailey, was expected to hold the balance between the two. In reality he had been appointed originally as an Assistant Land Commissioner by the Tories, and could not be said at any time to be unduly severe on the landlords in his decisions. Modest, retiring, and unassuming, he is a man of enormous ability, with a fine judicial mind, a perfect master of all the intricacies of Irish land legislation, a man whose capacity and zeal in the public service only a bitter partisan could call in question. The Report he wrote on the happy results of land purchase previous to 1903 is a most valuable State document, in which he carefully points out the punctuality with which the tenants paid their annuities, the improvements they effected on their lands by way of fencing, draining, building, and tillage, the sobriety and thrift which followed extravagance and want of care for the morrow.[1] This Report was of material assistance to Mr. Wyndham, and ensured Mr. Bailey's promotion under Mr. Wyndham's Act. Since then Mr. Bailey had been careful in all land sales to see that the tenant did not agree to terms which would have been ruinous for himself and for the State, and he had done nothing more. But this was not enough for unreasoning landlords and their unreasoning friends, and Mr.

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[1] *Birrell's Essays*, London, 1899, 2 vols.

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[1] "Report of Mr. W. F. Bailey of an Inquiry into the Present Condition of Tenant Purchasers under the Land Purchase Acts" (ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 25th March 1903).

Moore, M.P., an Ulster representative, attacked Mr. Bailey in Parliament. The latter was ably defended by his friend, Mr. T. W. Russell, who was able to produce some letters written by Mr. Moore, in which that gentleman reminded Mr. Bailey that he owed his appointment to the Tories, and that he had failed to do the landlords' work, and therefore when the Tories got back to office they would know how to mark their disapprobation of his conduct. In other words, they had already marked out Mr. Bailey for vengeance. Mr. Birrell, who agreed with Mr. Russell in condemning Mr. Moore and in defending Mr. Bailey, had thus early in his official career as Chief Secretary an opportunity of appreciating the character of Irish landlordism in its extreme form, and how great were the difficulties of satisfying its insatiable demands.[1]

Nor was this all. The Irish Nationalists themselves were not in agreement. Mr. Dillon objected to have the loss involved in the flotation of Irish land stock thrown on Irish revenue, and he would prefer to see the tenants wait rather than enter into the ruinous bargains they were making with these landlords; and the great majority of the Irish party agreed with Mr. Dillon. Mr. O'Brien was in a greater hurry to end the land war, and wanted to see the tenants purchase even though the price paid was high. Both agreed that there was need for fresh land legislation. Mr. Dillon would have this brought about by threatening the landlords with a renewal of agitation. Mr. O'Brien's plan was to confer with the landlords as in 1903, for no Government could reject a united demand, and the House of Lords would be sure to yield. These differences gave strength to those who had no faith in Parliamentary action, and in 1905 the Sinn Fein party was formed. As its name implies—for Sinn Fein is Irish for Ourselves—it aimed at National Independence, believing that the British Government was Ireland's greatest enemy, and that the British Parliament had no right to legislate for Ireland, having formally renounced such a right in 1783. Inculcating national self-reliance and self-respect, the Sinn Feiners would have Irish history studied in every college and school, the Irish language, folk-lore, dances, songs, and sports revived, the people consume less drink and tobacco, and favour Irish manufactures rather than those which came from England or abroad. As for the Irish members of Parliament, they could, with delegates from the County and other Councils, sit in Dublin as a National Council, whose business it would be "to take within its purview every question of National interest." The Council could not legislate, but it could pass resolutions which would be adopted and acted upon by the local Councils and obeyed throughout the land. It is not easy to see how this policy could be carried out successfully in a country where there are, and always have been, so many divisions, and in spite of the opposition of a great Empire. But it had been done in Hungary, and many thought it could be done in Ireland, and in consequence the Sinn Feiners grew strong,[1] and in 1907 were a source of uneasiness and alarm to the Irish Party. They added also to Mr. Birrell's difficulties, as did in a much greater degree those tenants who lived in congested districts and were crying out for more and better land. In 1906 a Royal Commission had been appointed to investigate the condition of the congested districts, the working of the Congested Districts Board, and its relations with the Estates Commission and the Agricultural Department, and what changes, if any, in the functions of these various bodies ought to be made. Voluminous evidence was taken all through 1907, and not until 1908 was the Report of the Commission issued. But meantime the impatient farmers would not be restrained, and knowing of old that the best way to change a law in Ireland is to break it, they made war on the graziers by driving the cattle and sheep off the grazing farms. The landlords howled for coercion, the Irish members called for land legislation. But Mr. Birrell would have no coercion, satisfied that the ordinary law was sufficient; and he would have no Land Bill until he had the Congested Commission Report. In the interval he bethought himself of Sir Antony MacDonnell's programme of a "co-ordination, control, and direction of Boards and other administrative agencies,"[1] and in the session of 1907 he brought in his Irish Councils Bill.

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[1] *Annual Register.*

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[1] *Irish Year-Book* for 1909, pp. 356-9.

This was Lord Dunraven's policy of Devolution, and was, of course, an attack on Dublin Castle. Nor could any defence be made of that ancient institution. A den of infamy, a sink of corruption, the nurse of traitors, the refuge of renegades, were but a few of the terms which Irishmen have angrily hissed out at the very mention of Dublin Castle. Within its grimy walls what plots have been hatched against Irish liberty, what dark deeds have been done, what wicked men have ruled! The kidnapped chiefs of Tyrconnell and Tyrone were prisoners in its keep; the Cromwellians held counsel there when they were driving the Irish into slavery; and Castlereagh and Clare when they were goading the men of 1798 into rebellion. From its doors honesty and public spirit were driven; within its walls virtue died; and while it welcomed the spy and the informer, it sent the patriot to the scaffold. Not in Europe is there a system of Government like that controlled and directed by Dublin Castle. A number of unrepresentative Boards, usually inefficient, and manned by chiefs who care nothing for Ireland—this is Irish administration. The Chief Secretary controls everything—police, magistrates, law officers, prisons, lunatics, land, education, local government. He is head of all these Boards, which so often overlap and collide, and Mr. Birrell recently declared that as President of one Department he was constantly in conflict with himself as President of another Department.[2] Usually the Chief Secretary is an Englishman and knows nothing of Ireland. The Under-Secretary, who does, is a permanent official, and has enormous power. As Mr. O'Brien puts it, he is "the man at the wheel,"[3] controlling everything from the rural policeman to the Inspector-General, from the Court bailiff to the Attorney-General. A strong man like Drummond can do much good or he can do much harm, and usually the Under-Secretary is an enemy of the people. And hence the Castle opposed every reform from Emancipation to Disestablishment, from the Commutation of Tithes to Gladstone's Land Act.[1]

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[1] Dunraven, p. 289.

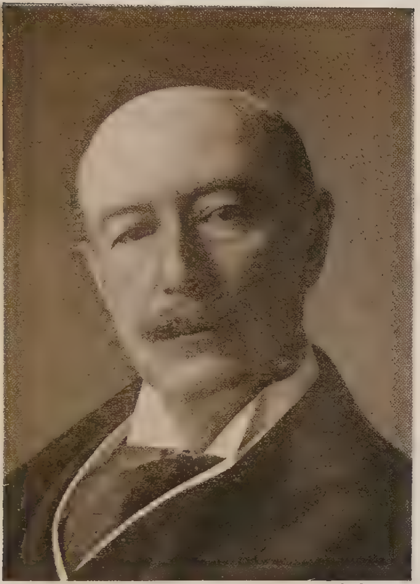
[2] Barry O'Brien's *Dublin Castle*, p. 24.

[3] P. 33.

It was to reform this system of government, which was a satire on representative institutions, an anachronism in the twentieth century, that Mr. Birrell brought in his Irish Councils Bill. He proposed to set up an Irish Council of 107 members, 84 elected and 23 nominated, one of the latter being the Under-Secretary. The elected members would sit in many cases for Parliamentary divisions, be elected by Parliamentary voters, and sit for three years. As an administrative but not a legislative body, they would take over the powers of the National and Intermediate Boards, the Local Government Board, reformatories and industrial schools, the Congested Districts and Agricultural Boards, and also some minor departments, such as the National Library and Royal Academy of Music; and they would have for all these purposes an income of nearly four millions and a quarter. Their resolutions would not be effective till approved by the Lord-Lieutenant, who might impose his veto and in some cases substitute resolutions of his own.[2] It was said that the Bill owed its origin to Sir Antony MacDonnell, and that in its first shape all the members were nominated with Sir Antony himself presiding. Ireland would thus have, said one critic, an Indian Council with an Indian satrap in the chair. Mr. Birrell showed no great enthusiasm for these proposals, which were certainly meagre and grudging. The Irish leaders, Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon, while in vain pressing for a larger measure, did not reject the one offered. But a National Convention in Dublin in May rejected it with scorn, and the Bill was accordingly dropped. And yet thoughtful men may ask was this action wise? The Bill was not offered as Home Rule, or as a substitute for it; it would probably have been amended, and with these amendments would have worked well. The County and District Councils, set up by the Act of 1898, had on the whole satisfactorily discharged their duties; and if

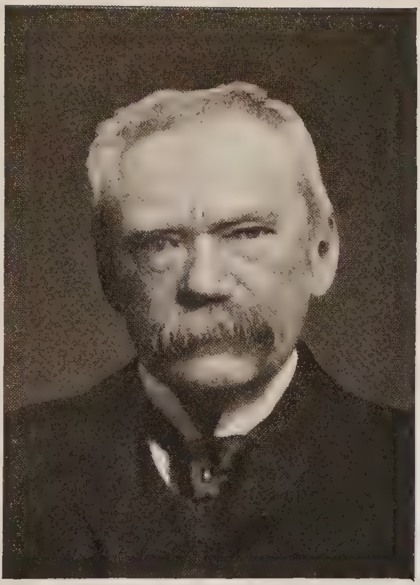
[1] O'Brien, p. 101.

[2] Copy of the Bill.



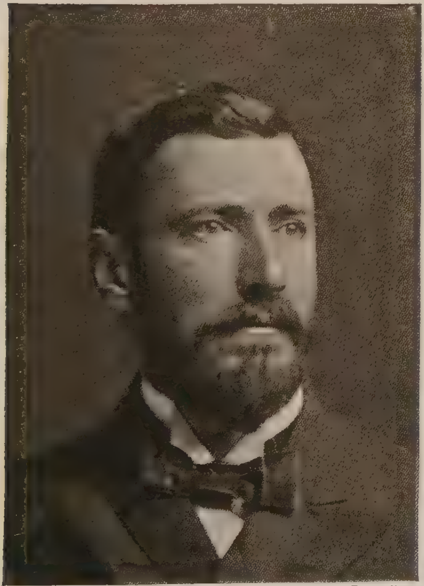
Lafayette.

LORD DUNRAVEN



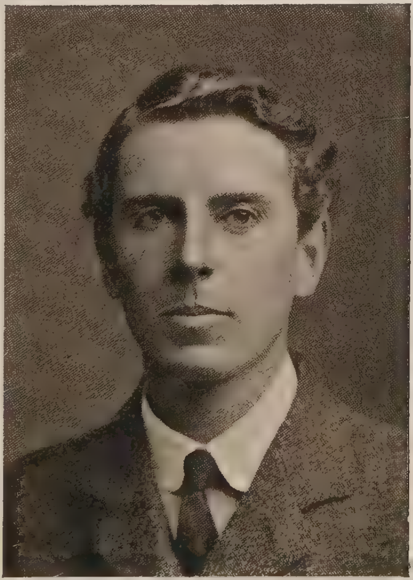
Elliott & Fry

LORD MACDONNELL
(Sir Antony Macdonnell)



Russell.

SIR HORACE PLUNKETT



Chancellor.

CAPT. SHAWE TAYLOR

the National Council was equally successful, its powers would be certainly enlarged and its income increased, until at last perhaps Home Rule would be reached. The Convention, however, did not think the Bill worth taking. The result has been that no better Bill has since been introduced, and in March 1908 Mr. Asquith and Mr. Birrell, speaking for the Liberal Government, would give no promise that Home Rule would be a living issue at the next General Election.[1]

At the Convention a resolution was passed expressing regret at the death of Mr. Michael Davitt. He died in the summer of 1906. Fenian, Land Leaguer, labour leader, newspaper writer, popular orator and member of Parliament, his had been a stormy and eventful career. The peasant's son who had lost his right arm as a boy, and thus maimed had to earn a living in a strange land, and who amid these difficulties had educated himself, until he was a fluent speaker and could write articles in high-class reviews, was no common man. Like many self-made men, he was often arrogant and dogmatic, and on the Education question, which he imperfectly understood, his attitude and language towards the Bishops of his own Church were often offensive. But there could be no doubt about his honesty and earnestness ; and the patience with which he bore sufferings in prison which would have broken another's spirit was not more remarkable than the generosity with which he forgave his foes. He lies buried in his own native Straide, under the shadow of a ruined Dominican Abbey. Nearly sixty years before he had been driven forth from the peaceful valley where he had played with childish glee. He had struck back with effect in his manhood, and as the shades of night thickened round him he had the satisfaction of knowing that Irish landlordism was doomed. It was Davitt's work in this direction which was best appreciated, and which caused his death to be so much regretted by the Irish race throughout the world.

In the summer and autumn of 1907 the Congested Board Commission continued its sittings, and evidence was supplied in plenty that if people were to live by the land congestion must be relieved. Nor were the poorer districts in the extreme west the only ones which cried out for legislation. Away to the east, by the banks of the Shannon, within sight of historic Clanmacnoise, lies the parish of Moore. Its parish priest, the Rev. T. J. Reidy, had to tell the Commissioners that 300 out of the 400 tenants in his parish were valued at less than £10 a year, and 100 at less than £5. And within the parish were two men holding between them 4000 acres of land over which cattle and sheep roamed, and not an acre were they willing to give the tenants. In such circumstances it was difficult to keep the people in restraint, and in many districts cattle-driving went on. It was, of course, a milder form of lawlessness than the agrarian crimes of other days, but it was nevertheless a violation of law, and if Sir Antony MacDonnell had had his way he would have given the cattle-drivers short shrift. Mr. T. W. Russell favoured milder measures. At Athenry in Galway a large farm belonging to the Agricultural Department was coveted by the landless townsmen ; a house was burned, the meadows spiked, and threats uttered that the Department would be driven out of the district. Mr. Russell came from Dublin and talked to the people and their priest, and found that while the townsmen could get neither milk nor vegetables because of the want of land, there was a large grazing farm just outside the ruined walls of the historic little town. Using his influence, he had the town bought out and the grazing farm divided among the townsmen, and then peace succeeded war. Mr. Birrell was not in a position to adopt Mr. Russell's policy in other districts. But he evidently preferred it to the Under-Secretary's, and instead of coercion resolved to rely on the ordinary law. Further, he was able in the session of 1907 to have an Evicted Tenants Bill passed, and he only waited for the Report of the Congested Commission to have an amending Land Bill introduced.

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[1] *Freeman's Journal*, March 31, 1908.

So far Mr. Birrell could not boast of his legislative record, for he had failed to pass the English Education Bill of 1906 and the Irish Councils Bill of the following year. But in

1908 he succeeded in passing the Irish Universities Bill. No other problem had been found so difficult of solution by English statesmen as this of higher education in Ireland. It had baffled Peel and Gladstone, it had not been solved by the establishment of the Royal University, and it had daunted Mr. Balfour, who had often freely admitted that something should be done.[1] The abolition of religious tests in Trinity College as far back as 1873 left that institution still Protestant. Its Provost was still a Protestant clergyman ; within its walls were a Protestant Divinity School and a Protestant place of worship ; the whole atmosphere of the place was redolent of Protestantism, and of its 1000 students only 100 were Catholics.[2] The Queen's College, Belfast, had developed into a Presbyterian University College, and the Colleges of Cork and Galway were but godless colleges. Catholics might indeed get degrees from the Royal University by passing an examination ; but they were denied the higher intellectual training, the continued contact with men of learning, the friendly rivalries of the class-room and the cricket field, the cultured intercourse inseparable from real University life. To discover a remedy for this state of things a Viceregal Commission, under the presidency of Lord Robertson, was appointed in 1901, and furnished its Report in 1903. As Trinity College was not included in the scope of the inquiry, the Commissioners had no recommendations to make in its regard. They recommended, however, that the Royal University should be turned into a teaching federal University, with the three Queen's Colleges and a new College in Dublin as constituent colleges. The College in Dublin would be for the Catholics, well endowed and equipped, such as might enter into rivalry with Trinity College on something like equal terms.[3]

This Report was not followed up by legislation, and in 1904 Lord Dunraven proposed in the newspapers that Dublin University should become the one National University of

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[1] Dr. Walsh's *The Irish University Question*, p. 194.

[2] Dunraven's *Outlook in Ireland*, p. 125 ; *Fry Commission Report.*

[3] *Robertson Commission Report.*

Dublin, with Trinity College, a College for Catholics at Dublin, and the three Queen's Colleges as constituent Colleges. In none of these Colleges would there be any religious tests. To these proposals Mr. Wyndham and Sir Antony MacDonnell were friendly, and the Catholics not unfriendly. Against them Trinity College set its face, and such was the influence it could command that the Government did nothing. When the Liberals came into office a new Commission was appointed under an English Judge, Sir Edward Fry, this time to enquire into the condition of Trinity College. In 1907 the Commissioners issued their Report. All agreed that Trinity College was no place for Catholics and could not be reformed to suit them, not even if, as Trinity College itself suggested, a Catholic Church was erected within its walls. A minority of Commissioners adopted the Robertson Commission Report; but a majority, led by Chief Baron Pallas, followed in the footsteps of Lord Dunraven, making Dublin University with five constituent Colleges a National University. Mr. Bryce, the Chief Secretary, favoured this latter proposal, and promised to give it legislative form at an early date. Dr. Walsh, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, also approved, as did most of the influential Catholic laymen, believing it would be well for the Catholics to be associated with so ancient and famous a seat of learning, and would help perhaps to soften sectarian rancour. But Dr. Healy, Archbishop of Tuam, and a majority of the Catholic Bishops, had no desire to be associated with an institution which had always been a centre and stronghold of religious bigotry. Trinity College itself was vehemently opposed to join either with Presbyterian or Catholic; and when Mr. Birrell came to Ireland he found that the friends of Trinity College would be strong enough and determined enough to defeat Mr. Bryce's proposals. He also found that Belfast was anxious for a Presbyterian University.

Leaving, then, Trinity College to hug its privileges and enjoy its ill-gotten gains in sullen isolation, voluntarily removed outside the current of National life, Mr. Birrell in his Bill set up two Universities, the National in Dublin with the Queen's

Colleges of Cork and Galway and a new College at Dublin as constituent Colleges, and Belfast University with the single College at Belfast. The Royal University was to disappear. Galway College was given an income of £12,000 a year; Cork £20,000; the new College at Dublin £32,000; an additional £10,000 went to the National University, and a sum of £150,000 for buildings. Belfast College got £28,000; Belfast University £10,000, with £60,000 for buildings. The pecuniary provision in the case of Dublin was thus totally inadequate. In neither University were there to be any religious tests, and in this respect they were no better than the godless colleges of Peel. But the Senators of the National University and the governing bodies of the Colleges at Dublin, Cork, and Galway are in the main Catholic; and it is this which generates a Catholic atmosphere and has made them acceptable to Catholics. Similarly the ruling authority at Belfast is in the main Presbyterian. This solution of the University difficulty, which was favoured by Mr. Dillon, and indeed followed the lines already sketched by him in one of his public speeches, was certainly the easiest, and Mr. Birrell was heartily congratulated. Mr. Balfour for the Opposition, Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon for the Irish Nationalists, Sir Edward Carson for Trinity College, were all ready with their approval. But there was opposition from a small section of British Nonconformists, always ready to exclude from education every religion but their own, and from the Ulster Orangemen, with whom bigotry is an inherited instinct and hatred of Catholicism a battle-cry. The Bill, however, passed its second reading by 344 to 31 votes.

In Committee the same opposition fought hard to destroy the Bill, and it was at that stage that Mr. Birrell deserved all the praise he received. That he was a strong man he had already shown by his resistance to the Unionist cry for coercion; that he was an eloquent speaker had been shown on the platform and in Parliament; and the dullest could not fail to appreciate his brilliant wit and his readiness of reply. But in the dull routine work of Committee all his powers were called forth.

Patient with bore and bigot, with Ulster Orangeman and British Nonconformist, he was suave or stern, plausible or sarcastic as the occasion demanded; ready to yield some small point for the sake of peace and progress, but hard as adamant when some vital principle of the Bill was assailed. No other Englishman would have steered the Bill so safely, no other pilot would have saved the vessel from being driven on the rocks. Mr. Birrell had the courage to advance where Mr. Balfour fell back; he succeeded where even Gladstone failed; and if he never did anything else for Ireland but this, he deserves a lasting place in her memory.

CHAPTER XX

Literary and Industrial Movements

WRITING of Ireland about 1770, and writing of what he knew from personal knowledge, Sir Jonah Barrington has left us a lively description of the Irish country gentleman of that day. His family mansion was large, the outcome of many plans, "an uncouth mass warring with every rule of symmetry in architecture." Its interior was in keeping with its ungraceful exterior. Some of the rooms were wainscotted, some were not wainscotted at all. Fishing-rods, powder-flasks, firearms decorated the hall. In the rooms the furniture was scanty; on the walls hung a few racing prints; there were a few small shaving-glasses for the men, a few mirrors for the ladies, and in the kitchen the maid-servants had nothing but a tub of water to reflect their charms. As for the library, it had neither chairs nor tables, and on its shelves the books were scanty: the Journals of the House of Commons, Clarendon's *History*, the works of Swift and Berkeley, the *History of the Bible*, a few novels, a few numbers of the *Guardian* and of the *Spectator*, a few books dealing with gardening and with the horse—and that was all. Caring nothing for painting or music or books, the country gentleman knew much of horses and dogs, rode and shot and fished, fought duels, attended races and cock-fights, was rudely and riotously hospitable, and drank unlimited quantities of claret and "rum sherbet," with the usual result of being afflicted with the gout. His bright blue cloak wrapped around him, he often walked abroad in his ill-kept garden, or sat indoors in the midst of cobwebs and dirt to decide disputes between his tenants or receive rents from them. Being a Protestant and sometimes a bigot, he despised them as Papists and treated them as slaves, though he agreed with them in hating the tithe-proctor, and was willing to protect them from every oppression but his own.[1]

There were, however, exceptions, and there is no difficulty in admitting that Barrington's statements are too general and that his pictures are overdrawn. Young, who visited Ireland about the same time, was less given to exaggeration, and is therefore more reliable. He noted indeed the wretched condition of the tenantry, the insolence of too many of the landlords, the large number of absentees,[2] the low state of tillage.[3] But he also noted that excessive drinking was not so common as formerly, that duelling was less, that the roads were good, that within the last twenty-five years trade had greatly increased,[4] that the older country houses were being replaced by new ones built in better taste; and he was specially pleased with the fine residences of Lord Powerscourt in Wicklow, of Lord Bangor in Down, and of Sir Capel Molyneux in Armagh.[5] In spite of premiums given by the Royal Dublin Society, the silk manufacture languished; but the linen manufacture was all over Ulster and was spreading into Connaught.[6] Among the cities and towns Galway had decayed;[7] Waterford, however, had the finest quay that Young had seen;[8] and Limerick, with its 32,000 inhabitants, had its hackney chaises and Sedan chairs, its plays and concerts;[9] while Cork, with its 67,000 inhabitants, exported yearly in beef and butter, in hides and woollen yarn, and other articles, goods valued at more than a million pounds.[10] Belfast was as yet only a small town; but Dublin, with more than 150,000 inhabitants, was the second city in the Empire. Its streets, it is true, were ill-kept, its government inefficient, its magistrates corrupt, its prisons dens of infamy, its street brawls frequent.[11] But, on the other hand, signs of wealth and culture abounded. Music was cultivated, theatres patronized, newspapers published, booksellers thriving, Dublin University famous, and the House of Parliament in College Green would have adorned the first city in Europe. The town houses of the nobility and gentry were built and furnished with taste. Young was specially pleased with the fine house of the Duke of Leinster; at Lord Charlemont's he saw pictures by Rembrandt and Titian;[1] and in Lord Moira's house was a fine picture-gallery. Carriages were common in the streets; there was a constant round of parties, dinners, suppers, and balls, and in the houses of the higher classes everything was characterized by good taste.[2]

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[1] Barrington's *Personal Sketches*, pp. 1-7; Lecky, i. 289-91.

[2] Young's *Tour in Ireland*, ii. 115-17.

[3] P. 22.

[4] Vol. ii. 151-4, 253-5.

[5] Vol. i. 101, 124, 143.

[6] Vol. i. 217; vol. ii. 137.

[7] Lecky's *Ireland*, i. 350.

[8] Vol. i. 408.

[9] Vol. i. 295.

[10] Vol. i. 333.

[11] *The Sham Squire*, xvi. 70-83.

The abolition of the commercial restraints, the relaxation of the penal code, the concession of legislative independence, followed two years later by the passage of Foster's Corn Law, all concurred in effecting great changes. Sectarian rancour was appreciably diminished, rents were paid with greater punctuality, taxes were light though the Government was corrupt; and in the writings of Ledwich and Vallancey, of Archdall and Charles O'Connor, something like an Irish literary revival appeared. The greater area of land broken up and the improved system of tillage increased the amount of agricultural produce, and gave additional employment to the labouring poor. A system of bounties judiciously employed rapidly stimulated industrial enterprise. Not only the linen manufacture, but also the woollen, silk, cotton, and glass manufactures grew prosperous. Dublin, more than ever the centre of the wealthy and cultured classes, increased in splendour and beauty. In finely-built houses rich furniture was to be seen, the paintings of the old masters hung upon the walls, and the carriages and horses which thronged the North Circular Road resembled the bustle and opulence seen in Hyde Park. Grattan and Plunkett, and Bushe and Ponsonby were then heard in Parliament, and Curran in the law courts which his wit and eloquence so much adorned. Theatres, concert-halls, clubs, newspapers, rich shops, well-dressed inhabitants in the streets, were so many evidences of prosperity; and it is the testimony of Lord Clare, and therefore of a bitter enemy, that in the years preceding the Union, Ireland advanced more rapidly in wealth than any other country in Europe.[1]

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[1] Vol. i. 18-20.

[2] Lecky, i. 322-9.

Had the events of 1798 and 1800 not taken place, it is probable that warring classes and creeds would have been brought together, that a type of Irishman would have been soon evolved, who, though loyal to England, would have sought in Ireland his inspiration and his ideals. But the horrors of the Rebellion, and the treachery and corruption which accompanied the Act of Union, not only stayed the progress of reconciliation and appeasement, but perpetuated and intensified class hatred and sectarian rancour. A small minority, fresh from pillage and murder, and backed by England in what they did, regarded the rest of their countrymen as enemies and slaves. These latter, maddened by tyranny which they were powerless to destroy, were animated by the bitterest hostility to England. Relegated to the cabins of the poor, the Irish language continued to be despised by the educated and privileged classes, whose ambition was to speak and write like Englishmen, to ape English manners, and copy English modes of thought. They were more English than the English themselves. The National spirit, however, fostered on the fields of Wexford or among the Presbyterians of Belfast, found expression in the poems and ballads of Dr. Drennan and his friends, in such pieces as "Mary Le More" or the "Wake of William Orr."[2]

The extinction of the Irish Parliament, the symbol of Ireland's distinctive existence as a nation, was not calculated to strengthen or even to maintain the National spirit, and after the Union a period of stagnation and decay supervened. Nor had O'Connell any difficulty in showing to the British Parliament in 1834 that the Union had proved a curse to Ireland, resulting in increased indebtedness and increased taxation, in increasing absenteeism as well as the absolute power of tyrannical and grasping landlords, and in consequent increase of the misery and sufferings of the poor. Less wine, less silk, less tobacco were consumed, and even less meat, though the number of cattle exported to England was greater. The bustle and energy of so many cities and towns had been diminished, manufactures had everywhere decayed, and if we want to know the wretched condition of the millions of the peasants, we have it adequately described in the pages of the French De Beaumont or the German Kohl, or in the sober pages of the Devon Commission Report, all these being published some years subsequent to the speech of O'Connell.[1]

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[1] Lecky, ii. 496-500; Lord Cloncurry's *Personal Recollections*, pp. 216-81.

[2] *Literary Remains of the United Irishmen*, i.-iii. 47.

In the midst of such conditions it would be hard to expect any marked intellectual activity, still less anything like an Irish literary revival. Yet there were some Irish writers of the period who drew their inspiration from the land in which they were born. In 1808 a Gaelic Society was established at Dublin for the development of the "history, literary and ecclesiastical, of their Island." One of its members, William Halliday, wrote an Irish Grammar; Edward O'Reilly, another member, compiled an Irish Dictionary; Father Denis Taafe wrote a History of Ireland. But the most remarkable member of the Gaelic Society was Dr. John Lanigan (1758-1828). Born in Cashel, educated at Rome, and then professor at the University of Pavia, he returned to Ireland and was for years librarian of the Royal Dublin Society. His great work is an *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* in four volumes.[2] Written by a Catholic priest and from the Catholic point of view it is the product of enormous research, of great industry, of extensive historical learning. Lanigan has prejudices, but is not a bigot; he is sometimes intolerant, but it is of inaccuracy and presumptuous dulness; he is always well informed, always ready with his authorities, and never afraid to champion any cause or opinion which he believes right. On a much lower scale both in ability and learning were men like MacSweeney and Barrett and Raftery, who wrote both tales and poems. They wrote on peasants for the peasantry, and in the Irish language which the peasantry understood, and some portion of what they wrote has survived.[1]

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[1] *O'Connell's Speech*, April 1834; Kohl's *Ireland*; De Beaumont, *L'Irlande.*

[2] Fitzpatrick's *Irish Wits and Worthies*, pp. 126 *et seq.*

Carleton (1794-1869), who wrote in English, had infinitely more genius than any of these three. The son of a mother who knew little English, but loved to sing, as she did with feeling, old Irish songs, and of a father who had to the full the peasant's simple faith and the peasant's credulity, Carleton was thus enabled to describe the peasantry from within. The school which he first attended was a hedge-school, built of sods, with only a hole in the roof for a chimney and only a few large stones for the pupils' seats. When he attended mass he had to kneel in the open air—only a few stones served for an altar, this being covered; the people knelt in the open on bundles of straw which they had brought for the purpose from home.[2] When he proposed to become a priest, he had, in accordance with the custom of the time, to go to Munster as a poor scholar.[3] He soon returned and never became a priest, though in his journey south he acquired knowledge and experience which in after years served him well. Cradled in misery and oppression he was often made to feel that he belonged to a subject race and to a despised creed, and he remembered all that he had felt and seen. Careless, good-looking, a great dancer, a good athlete, a favourite with the girls, his habits were unsettled, his care for the future little. He went everywhere and mixed with all classes of the people, and when it is added that he changed his religion and died a Protestant, it will be seen that his experiences were entirely beyond the common.[4] In his writings there is no need for the play of the imagination, for he records his actual experiences, and in his pages the life and character of the Irish peasantry stand completely revealed, their weaknesses and their strength, their wit and humour, their generosity and kindliness of nature, their joys and their sorrows, their laughter and their tears. The dance and the fair, the pattern and the pilgrimage, the wedding and the wake, the fiddler and gossip and sanachie, the poor scholar, the priest and the parson, the landlord and the tithe-proctor, the grasping agent and the cheating attorney, all these flit through his pages, and are described by a master-hand.[1]

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[1] Hyde's *Literary History*, pp. 605-6.

[2] O'Donoghue's *Carleton*, i. 4-11, 19-21, 36-37.

[3] *Ibid.* 65-72. [4] *Ibid.* 81-107.

In the *Tales of the O'Hara Family* the Banims, John (1798-1842) and Michael (1796-1848), have also described Irish peasant life. They belonged to the middle class and had not, therefore, the intimate knowledge of the poorer classes which Carleton had, nor are their pictures so complete as his, though their pages abound in descriptions which are both powerful and true.[2] Miss Edgeworth (1767-1849) holds a higher place among novelists than either Carleton or the Banims, and has acquired a more extensive and more enduring fame. But she is less Irish than they. She writes from the landlords' point of view. She writes as belonging to the ruling class and to the favoured creed, as an Anglo-Irishwoman of the Pale, not indeed approving of landlord tyranny or landlord injustice, and not without sympathy for the oppressed; yet without any deep or passionate resentment for the wrongs inflicted on them, and without any vehement desire for change.[3] Lady Morgan (1777-1859) was more Irish. She was a Protestant with strong Catholic sympathies, and in her kindly treatment of the ancient race—the O'Donnells, the O'Flahertys, and the O'Briens—her desire was to show the extent and injustice of Catholic disabilities and thus further the cause of Catholic Emancipation.[4] Nor was her purpose unrecognized, and O'Connell once gratefully acknowledged the help which she had given.[5] Nor must Gerald Griffin (1803-40) be omitted, whose fine novel, the *Collegians*, has rarely been equalled for its delineation of Irish character, delineation which was so sympathetic and so true.

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[1] See especially *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, *Fardarougha the Miser*, *Valentine MacClutchy*, as well as *O'Donoghue's Life*, which latter includes *Carleton's Autobiography*.

[2] *Tales of the O'Hara Family*, 3 vols., London, 1825.

[3] See *Castle Rack-rent*, and the *Absentee* especially; also *The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth*, ed. A. J. C. Hare, London, 1894.

[4] Fitzpatrick's *Lady Morgan*, pp. 22-30.

[5] *Ibid.* 253.

Better known than any of the Irish writers of his day, and of more enduring fame, was the poet Thomas Moore (1775-1852). In prose he wrote a *History of Ireland*, which at no time had any special value, and has now become entirely obsolete. He wrote the *Memoirs of Captain Rock*, which throws much light on the state of Ireland in the years immediately preceding Emancipation, and he wrote biographies of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, of Byron, and of Sheridan, the last of which, as a biography, stands deservedly high. But it is as a poet he is best known. He wrote much—songs, ballads, tales, satires, and one noted production, *Lalla Rookh*, in which he describes with much felicity and truth the life of the East with all its glamour and its glow. Not on all these, however, but on his *Irish Melodies* does his fame chiefly rest, and it is with the *Melodies* his name will be for ever associated. Born in Dublin and educated in Trinity College, he was little in touch with the masses of his countrymen. He went early to England and lived and died there, and it was in English drawing-rooms he sang his songs and won applause. And yet he is essentially Irish—his wit, his humour, his pathos, his sympathy with suffering, his hatred of oppression are all Irish. His favourite themes are Irish—some noted event in Irish history, some hero of the centuries that are gone, some beautiful legend, some lake or river or valley, some grey old ruin to which the ivy clings. He is not the poet of passion, but of emotion. He moves to sorrow, to pity, to pride, to vain regret, as he describes the battles that were lost, the hopes that were unfulfilled, the heroism that was unavailing, the plans that came to nought, the treachery that triumphed, the proud defiance which was but the herald of defeat. The words of Moore are often beautiful and are always the expressions of Irish feeling and Irish thought. But it is because the airs to which they are wedded are so touching and plaintive that the *Melodies* appeal so strongly to an Irish heart. They tell the Irishman at home and the Irish exile beyond the sea of sorrow and defeat, and they draw the tear from his eye because they speak to him with the voice of an oppressed land.

The poetry of the Young Irelanders is inferior to that of Moore, for none of them had his peculiar gifts, and Davis, the brightest of them all, was swept away before his talents had matured. Had he lived to old age, and confined himself entirely or even chiefly to literary work, he would probably have done great things both in poetry and in prose. But he would not have shone in the special field in which Moore is supreme. He was no mere drawing-room poet, no sweet singer who excited the emotions of his auditors and won their applause. His object was not to amuse or even to please, but to inform, and in everything he wrote there is evidence of a high purpose and a stern resolve. He refused to contemplate Erin always in tears, always moaning over the past, uttering vain regrets or equally vain threats of defiance. He wanted her to forget that she was in rags and in chains, to cultivate National pride and National self-reliance, to face the future with gathered strength and that confidence which is the forerunner of victory. Hence we find in his songs no note of despair or of depression, but rather those of courage and hope; no lingering on fields of defeat, but rather the defence of Cremona and the charge at Fontenoy. A combination of all Irishmen, a blending of orange and green he knew would be invincible, and therefore he wanted Irishmen of all creeds to cease looking across the Channel, but to look at home and take a pride and an interest in their own land, in its language, its history, its antiquities, its art, its scenery, its music, and above all in its people. His influence over his contemporaries was great, and in the writings of the Young Irelanders the characteristics of Davis appear—his generous toleration towards all Irishmen, his breadth of view, his fervent devotion to Ireland, his scorn of her betrayers, his indignation against those who cast contumely on her name. In this spirit wrote Magee and Duffy, John O'Hagan and D. F. M'Carthy, Barry and Denny Lane, and Mr. Ingram with his noble lyric, "Who fears to speak of '98." D'Alton Williams has a few songs, in every line of which is the crash of battle, and some of Lady Wilde's pieces are a challenge to Ireland's foes, and on Ireland's betrayers she pours concentrated scorn.[1]

Mangan owed less to Davis than the other writers of the *Nation*, and was less under his influence. He was a strange wayward genius—morbid, melancholic, sensitive, and retiring—with poetic gifts greater than those of Davis himself. Jilted by the only woman he ever loved, he had recourse to opium and alcohol for consolation; but instead of being consoled his misery was intensified. He revelled in what was dismal and desolate, in grief for which earth had no soothing balm, in sorrow too deep-seated to be cured; he walked the streets in tattered garments, his head filled with learning, his heart heavy as lead, his outlook black as night; and he died wasted and worn, leaving behind him, according to a competent critic (Lionel Johnston), something "greater than anything that Ireland has yet produced in English verse."[2]

There is some truth in the judgment passed on the Young Irelanders: that they were not poets, but inspired journalists.[3] They wrote for the day, often to influence the public opinion of the passing hour, and had not time for that study and thought and care essential for literary work which is to live. Yet they were much more than the ordinary journalists, and some at least of what Mangan and Davis wrote deserves a permanent place in literature. What the others could do appeared more fully in after years. In Magee's *History of Ireland* the author gave evidence of possessing the historic sense, and writes readably and impartially. Mitchel had greater literary capacity, but his *History*, and indeed everything he wrote, is disfigured by prejudice and partiality, by a want of calmness in his judgments, by a fierce hatred of England. Neither Father Meehan nor Mr. J. C. O'Callaghan wrote eloquently, but both were fine historical scholars and men of extensive learning, and what they wrote is invaluable to every student of Irish history.[1] Gavan Duffy has written much, covering, indeed, the whole of his long public life, and what he has written no historian of Ireland can disregard. He is perhaps somewhat unduly partial to his colleagues of the Young Ireland Party, and betrays a tendency to magnify their achievements. But on the whole he writes as an honest and fair-minded man, with much of the calmness of the historian and the grace of one with marked literary tastes—as a man having an extensive knowledge both of books and men. Mr. D. O. Madden was one of Davis's special friends, and has left us pictures of the men of his time equal at least to the lively sketches of the younger Curran,[2] though inferior to the finished pictures of Sheil. He is not, however, impartial or unprejudiced, and is entirely out of sympathy with the political principles and public conduct of O'Connell, though he does justice to his extraordinary powers.[3]

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[1] *The Spirit of the Nation*; D'Alton William's *Poems*; *Poems of Speranza* (Lady Wilde); D. F. M'Carthy's *Book of Irish Ballads*, Dublin, 1846; Duffy's *Young Ireland*.

[2] O'Donoghue's edition of Mangan's *Works*.

[3] Gwyn's *To-day and To-morrow in Ireland*, p. 93.

On his side O'Connell viewed with little sympathy all this intellectual activity. He could speak the Irish language fluently, but had no desire to have it preserved and no anxiety to see it used generally by the people. He knew little of Irish history and less about Irish antiquities, nor was he a man of extensive reading. He was a great political leader, a lawyer of unrivalled skill, a Parliamentary debater of the first rank, a man whose public services had so enthroned him in the hearts of the people that he wielded over them nothing less than despotic power. Long accustomed to deference and even servility, he resented the independent tone of the Young Irelanders, for he would have them his followers but not his critics. He had, besides, been badly treated by Irish literary men. Moore had no love for him; Maginn was Irish, but wrote with contempt of O'Connell and repeal; and Mahony, following in the wake of Maginn, had his pages strewn with sneers at the great Irishman who had done so much for

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[1] See O'Callaghan's *The Irish Brigade*, *The Green Book*, and his valuable notes to *Macariae Excidium*.

[2] W. H. Curran's *Sketches of the Irish Bar*.

[3] *Ireland and its Rulers*.

Ireland. Carleton had unbounded admiration for O'Connell personally, but abhorred his policy of repeal.[1] As for men like Maxwell and Lefanu and Lever, they could not be expected to be friendly, as they were on the side of his political opponents.[2] For these reasons O'Connell did not share the enthusiasm of Davis for Irish history and Irish biography. If he had done so, the Irish literary revival which had taken place would have made much greater progress; and, no doubt, with the strengthening of the National character thus effected, with the increased dignity and self-reliance called into existence, an industrial revival also would have come.

All hope of any such revival was destroyed by the awful events which followed the deaths of Davis and O'Connell. Davis died in 1845, and O'Connell in 1847; the famine swept away a fourth of the people; the abortive insurrection of 1848 created depression and gloom such as had not been seen since 1798; the landlords grew insolent and evicted, and within a few years the whole country was dotted over with deserted villages and ruined homes. Industries still further decayed, poverty increased, and public spirit declined. With the Young Irelanders dead or in exile, or recreant to their former opinions, National literature might be regarded as dead. Carleton wrote no more novels like *Valentine M'Clutchy*, nor Lefanu any like his *Cock and Anchor*. Lover (1797-1868) published some sweet songs, plaintive and sad, but his two best known novels, *Rory O'More* and *Handy Andy*, continued to be extensively read, and in Great Britain and America were regarded as faithful pictures of Irish life, though in reality they were mischievous caricatures. Lever (1806-72) sinned grievously in the same direction. Reckless, extravagant, nomadic in his habits, he was much abroad and wrote much of foreign persons and foreign scenes. Exaggeration is natural to him, and when he describes men and things in his own country he goes far. His landlords and officers are as extravagant and as convivial as himself — gambling, horse-racing, whiskey-drinking duellists. His priests, without piety or learning, or any serious conception of their duties, are given over to superstition and gluttony. His peasantry, clothed in rags and tatters, are only slaves and buffoons.[1] Far different is the kindly and sympathetic treatment of priest and peasant in the two fine novels of Kickham, *Knocknagow* and *Sally Cavanagh*; and it is regrettable that for many years no other such novels appeared.

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[1] *Carleton's Life*, ii. 275.

[2] Duffy's *Davis*, pp. 141, 282.

In Irish history and antiquities the field is not so barren, and under the auspices of the Celtic, Archæological, and Ossianic Societies much valuable editing was done by O'Donovan and Reeves, by O'Callaghan and Hardiman, by Dr. Todd of Trinity College, and Dr. Kelly of Maynooth. It is to O'Donovan (1809-61) we owe the monumental and masterly edition of the *Four Masters*, as we owe at an earlier date to George Petrie (1789-1866) the valuable contributions on the *Round Towers* and on the *Ancient Architecture of Ireland*. Petrie had indeed every necessary qualification for the task he undertook—knowledge, zeal, judgment, the patience and industry and care of a thorough and impartial investigator. As for O'Donovan, to a sound knowledge of the Irish language he added an extensive acquaintance with all the details of Irish history, and a familiarity with Irish historical topography which has never been equalled. O'Curry (1796-1862) was the greatest Celtic scholar of his day, a man whose modesty prevented him from passing dogmatic judgments on Irish historical events, but who was unwearied in getting together historical material, so that others more competent might judge. Hardiman (1800-55) and John D'Alton (1792-1867) were specially skilled in local history, and are always accurate and reliable; Lord Dunraven's domain was Irish architecture; Sir William Wilde (1815-76) was an antiquarian, but in no sense a historian; Mr. Prendergast's activity was confined to the seventeenth century, and in this period he has done original and invaluable work; and O'Callaghan, Todd, Reeves, and Dr. Kelly were at their best in translating and annotating the historical work of others. More versatile than any of these was Sir Samuel Ferguson (1810-86). As a lawyer he attained to eminence in his profession. As Deputy-Keeper of the Irish Records, he showed that his had been an admirable selection, and that none more competent for the office could have been found.[1] He was President of the Royal Irish Academy. He was an antiquarian who carefully groped his way through the buried past, and then wrote learnedly on mounds and raths and Ogham writing, on cromlechs and pillar stones.[2] But it is as a poet he wished to acquire fame, and it is as a poet he has acquired it. He was not in sympathy with the Young Irelanders, though he numbered several of them among his close personal friends.[3] His gifts recalled those of D'Arcy Magee, for both knew much of their country's story, and it is over the broad field of Irish history and Irish legend that Ferguson loved to roam. His elegy on Davis was "the most Celtic in structure and spirit" of all those laid on the dead patriot's tomb.[4] He wrote satire in felicitous verse. He wrote lyrics, which, though in English, are Irish in spirit and in form. He wrote bardic tales with the genius and sympathy of an ancient bard. And as he wandered back through the ages, he lighted upon some legendary or historic event which he lifted to epic dignity. His ambition was to raise the native elements of Irish story to a dignified level;[5] and no one who reads what he has written will be disposed to say that he has failed.

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[1] *Vide* Fitzpatrick's *Life of Charles Lover*, 2 vols., London, 1819, and Bayle Bernard's *Life of Lover*, 2 vols., London, 1874.

During the last quarter of the century the most fruitful workers in the domain of Irish history and archæology were Cardinal Moran, Dr. Healy, Archbishop of Tuam; Father Murphy and Dr. M'Carthy, Dr. Joyce and Standish H. O'Grady, Gilbert and Fitzpatrick, Richey, and Bagwell, and Lecky; and in poetry Ferguson found no unworthy successors in Allingham (1824-89) and Aubrey de Vere. Like him both drew much of their inspiration from Ireland, and like him both were familiar with its story and its scenery, its legends and its lore.[6] With considerable aptitude for historical research,

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[1] Lady Ferguson's *Sir S. Ferguson*, ii. 332-7.
[2] *Ibid.* 46-47.
[3] *Ibid.* i. 139.
[4] *Ibid.* 134-6.
[5] *Ibid.* 36.
[6] *Ibid.* 251-2.

Cardinal Moran has gone over the whole field of Irish Church history, producing many books with which no Irish historian can dispense. Dr. Healy is as familiar as the Cardinal with the sources of Irish history, ecclesiastical and civil, and an equally enthusiastic historical student, and he is a really eloquent and attractive writer. With a knowledge of ancient Irish architecture, which is profound, and a genius for historical topography little inferior to that of O'Donovan, he has visited every district in Ireland, and therefore describes what he has seen ; and his vivid pictures of Arran and Armagh, of Bangor and Clonmacnoise, have not been and are not likely to be surpassed. Father Murphy and Dr. MacCarthy are best as editors. Mr. S. H. O'Grady has been declared by a competent critic to approach nearest to O'Donovan.[1] Dr Joyce has to his account a good deal of Irish history impartially told, and his book on the social condition of ancient Ireland has popularized and extended the materials left us by O'Curry. As for Whitley Stokes, his reputation as a profound scholar is world-wide, and in the field of Celtic philology he stands unequalled. Gilbert delighted to make his way through State documents, to discover what had hitherto lain concealed, to arrange and piece together historical fragments, and then set forth lucidly what he had done, so that the historian might weave a connected narrative. Fitzpatrick equally loved research, but it was chiefly into the lives and characters of public men, and not infrequently his discoveries have proved of great historical value. Richey and Bagwell have written from the landlord and conservative standpoint, but both are painstaking and are never consciously unfair. Lecky stands on a higher level, and is one of the greatest historians of the age ; fair-minded and full, his aim to discover the truth, he is unwearied in its pursuit, pronounces his judgments with judicial impartiality, writes often in a strain of lofty eloquence, and is never wearisome or dull, and has left us *A History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* which for the period covered stands unrivalled.

For some years before his death O'Curry had been

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[1] Lady Ferguson, ii. 88.

Professor of Irish History and Archæology in the Catholic University. That institution owed its origin to the Catholic bishops. Trinity College was Protestant, the Queen's Colleges were godless colleges, and Dr. MacHale and many of his colleagues suggested, as the only way of meeting Catholic requirements, the establishment of a University under Catholic control, relying on Catholic support, with Catholic students in its class halls and Catholic professors in the various chairs. As far back as 1847 the Congregation of the Propaganda had urged the Irish bishops to aim at setting up a Catholic University, giving them as a model the University of Louvain.[1] Dr. MacHale, and those who like him had opposed the Queen's Colleges, welcomed the suggestion and were ready to act on it; and at the Synod of Thurles in 1850 the Queen's Colleges, having been formally condemned as intrinsically dangerous to faith and morals, it was resolved that every effort should be made to meet the views of the Propaganda by the establishment of a Catholic University.[2] Some time elapsed before the necessary brief was obtained from Rome and the necessary funds in Ireland, and not until 1853 did the Catholic University open its doors. Its site was in St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, its first Rector, John Henry Newman. Professors to the different chairs were soon after appointed, and work was commenced in the following year.

But there were difficulties from the beginning which boded ill for the new institution, and gave no promise of that success which has followed the fortunes of the great establishment at Louvain. Between Dr. MacHale and Dr. Cullen serious differences arose. The latter wanted the affairs of the University to be managed by a small committee of the bishops, while Dr. MacHale wanted the control to be in the hands of the whole Episcopal body. And Dr. MacHale complained of the appointments made to the various chairs, and of not being furnished with details of the expenditure. Finally he disapproved of the appointment of Dr. Newman. He did not deny that the great oratorian had intellectual capacity of the highest order and that his moral character was above reproach, and he knew that having lived so long in Oxford he was familiar with the life and spirit of a great University. But though Newman loved Ireland, and especially because of her noble fidelity to the ancient faith, he was an Englishman with English ideas. Dr. MacHale wanted an Irishman with Irish ideas. He wanted to have the University develop on Irish lines; to have the whole atmosphere of the place distinctively Irish; to have the Irish language efficiently taught, and Irish history a prominent place in the curriculum; to have Irish song and story made familiar, Irish art cultivated, and Irish heroes venerated within its walls. Thus, by professors Irish in sympathy and in feeling, students would be trained and sent forth who would exhibit the highest capabilities of the Irish character, and by whom the best traditions of their race would be rivalled and recalled.[1] With much of this Newman had no sympathy. Among his list of nominations to the professors' chairs were several educated at Oxford and Cambridge. He had no provision made for the teaching of the Irish language. And instead of having an Irish National University, he preferred one which would be rather cosmopolitan in its character—a centre in which all subjects would be taught to seekers after knowledge no matter whence they came. Dr. Cullen favoured Newman's views, and the want of harmony between two such eminent ecclesiastics as Dr. Cullen and Dr. MacHale resulted in lessened enthusiasm for the University on the part of the public, and consequent lessened pecuniary support. The professorial staff was incomplete; there was no provision made for the students' residence or for tutorial superintendence, and there could not, therefore, be that intercommunion of thought so necessary to University life. The obstinate refusal of the Government to grant a charter was the heaviest blow of all. Unable any longer to row against the stream Newman resigned in 1857. After that date the University struggled painfully on until in 1882 it was handed over to the Jesuits, and by them was galvanized into activity. The conscientious Catholics meanwhile were shut out from higher education. Those who were less conscientious went to the Queen's Colleges in spite of Episcopal prohibition, and not a few also made their way to Trinity College

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[1] *Decrees of the Synod of Thurles*, Appendix iv.

[2] *Decrees of the Synod* (Chapter, "De Colegiis Reginae").

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[1] O'Reilly's *Life of MacHale*, i. 487-525.

The latter institution in 1893 celebrated its tercentenary. For four days the celebrations continued. As many as seventy-five Universities and other learned bodies were represented, and students and learned men came from many lands. There were balls and banquets and garden parties; there was a religious celebration in St. Patrick's Cathedral, attended by the guests in their many-coloured academic costumes; there was a tercentenary ode and the conferring of honorary degrees; and in many speeches the past glories of Trinity College were recalled.[1] And, undoubtedly, the list of great men who had passed through its halls since the days of Usher and Ware was a long one. It could claim Molyneux and Swift and Goldsmith. The great men who shed lustre on Ireland in the closing years of the eighteenth century were among its students—Grattan and Flood, and Plunkett and Bushe, and Curran and many more. O'Connell did not belong to it, but Sheil and Moore did, as did Davis and Ferguson; and among its professors were Ingram and Isaac Butt. And if we enumerate all those who won distinction in the Church, at the Bar, in the army and navy and diplomatic services, the list might be indefinitely prolonged.[2] These men, however, served England and her empire, and had little sympathy with Ireland, and hence from the tercentenary celebrations the masses and their representatives held aloof. For Trinity College in the nineteenth century, as in the sixteenth, was a Protestant institution in a Catholic land, an enemy of popular progress, a citadel of ascendancy and class privilege; and if Wolfe Tone and Emmett and Davis had been among its students, they found but few sympathizers within its walls. It had given no help to O'Connell; and in the subsequent contests, in the struggle for Parliamentary and municipal reform, in the fight for educational equality, and in the long fierce agrarian struggle, the voice of Trinity College had always been lifted up to drown the voice of freedom. Irish Catholics remembered with bitterness that this rich institution with its splendid buildings, its magnificent library, its complete University equipment, had always been aggressively Protestant, though it derived its princely revenue from the plunder of Catholic lands. And Irish Nationalists remembered with bitterness that the Parliamentary representatives of Trinity College had always been place-hunting lawyers ; that its students had always been ready to groan a popular procession or cheer an unpopular Viceroy. And in the great Home Rule struggle one of its professors, Dr. Ingram, had the hardihood to enter the lists against Mr. Gladstone, and had undertaken the impossible task of justifying the vile manner by which the Union had been passed. And yet Irishmen, who would lay aside religious and political prejudices, and regard only academic attainments, could not but admit that Trinity College reflected honour on Ireland. If it had done little in the field of original research, and if the number of its really great men was small in proportion to the number of its students and the amount of its revenues, at least there was no age in which some great men did not belong to it. Usher and Berkeley, Swift and Burke, were intellectual giants, men whose fame was of all time ; and if in 1893 it was true that Trinity College could boast of none such as these, it was equally true that Mahaffy and Salmon, and Dowden and Lecky, were men who would have brought honour to the first University in the world.

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[1] MacNeill Dixon, *History of Trinity College*, pp. 282-4.

[2] Dixon's *Introduction*.

Two years after this date came the centenary of Maynooth College. The Pope sent an autograph letter of congratulation, and among the visitors were archbishops and bishops from all parts of Ireland, as well as from England and from abroad, the heads of many foreign colleges, and many hundreds of priests. The balls and banquets and garden parties, the ladies' dresses and the many-coloured academic costumes which were seen at Trinity College were not at Maynooth, for Maynooth is not a University but a great ecclesiastical seminary. But there were meetings and speeches and religious celebrations, and an eloquent sermon by a former Maynooth student, Dr. Healy of Clonfert, and besides these public functions there were many hearty greetings between former comrades, who clasped hands once more after the lapse of years. Many a priest who had long wrestled with the world and its cares was glad to see again the familiar face of his Alma Mater, its fields and walks and grey old walls, the cloisters in which he had walked so often, the class-hall in which he had sat, the room he once occupied. And he sighed as he realized the havoc which had been wrought by time, the old Professors and Superiors gone, his fellow-students scattered far and wide, some working in holy Ireland itself and some in far-off lands, and not a few of the dear old friends whom he had loved silent for ever in their graves.

Within the walls of Maynooth there has always been plenty of talent, and yet the number of Maynooth men who have become authors is but small. Busily engaged at class work, the Professors have little leisure for literary work, and when they have written it is on purely professional subjects. In that direction they have done work which is good and will endure. As for the priests throughout the country who may have time and literary tastes they have almost insuperable difficulties to surmount. The Irish publishers have little initiative or enterprise, and the priest in some obscure country village knows nothing of London publishers, and not infrequently also at home he has to encounter discouragement. But if he does not write books he buys them, and there is no movement for the uplifting of the people—literary, artistic, industrial—in which he does not share. The priests helped O'Connell in the struggle for Emancipation and in the struggle for the Repeal. They were in the ranks of Young Ireland and shared its enthusiasm for Irish National ideals, and in the Gaelic movement of later times no class of Irishmen have taken so prominent a part.

In 1843 there were 3,000,000 persons in Ireland still speaking Irish as their mother-tongue.[1] By famine and emigration their ranks in the next few years were woefully thinned. On the altar steps and in the homes of the people Irish gradually grew into disuse, and in the National schools children were punished for speaking it. Alone among the Catholic Bishops Dr. MacHale laboured for its preservation, had it taught in the Primary Schools of his Diocese and in his Diocesan College, and compelled all his priests to learn it at Maynooth and use it in speaking to the people. No organized effort was made till 1876, when the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language was founded. But this Society, confining itself to publishing some small text-books, never attained national proportions, and in 1879 a more virile one was formed, the Gaelic Union, which in a short time started the *Gaelic Journal.* The years that followed were years of fierce political struggle, which absorbed the best energies of the Irish race in every land. Amid the din and stress of battle no mere literary movement could have aroused national enthusiasm, and only after the fall of Parnell was a beginning made by the establishment in 1893 of the Gaelic League. It owed its origin to the more militant spirits of the Gaelic Union, mostly young men, and differing much both in politics and in creed.

At that date the best known among them was Father Eugene O'Growney, a man of singularly lovable character. Modest, unassuming, and retiring, he was without a trace of vanity or self-conceit. Ill-natured critics, jealous no doubt of his well-earned fame, have sometimes pointed to the fact that in Maynooth his academic honours were few. But they forgot that even Burke and Swift had the same story to tell ; that to obtain such honours requires the constant treading and retreading the same narrow patch of ground,[2] and to many this is an unendurable weariness ; and they ignore the fact that O'Growney's health in College had always been poor, and study and sickness go ill together. Besides this, his enthusiasm for Irish was such that he left himself little time for other studies. Born in Meath, where it was little spoken, he knew nothing of it till he entered College, and there he took up its study and laboured with unwearied industry. He loved to frequent the College Library and copy its Irish manuscripts, and to discuss with Irish-speaking students questions of pronunciation and dialect ; and when the vacation came he went to Kerry and Cork, and Donegal and the Arran Isles, to learn the language where it was pure. His great ability soon made him proficient, and while yet a student he wrote Irish tales and stories and translations for the *Gaelic Journal.* In 1889 he became Professor of Irish at Maynooth, and inspired many of his students with some of his own enthusiasm. A delicate constitution could not stand the strain of all his work, and he was compelled to seek health and strength beneath summer skies. He died at Los Angelos in 1894, away on the distant slopes of the Pacific, and as his body was borne back to Ireland across the American continent the whole Irish race came out to do him honour. His simplicity, his earnestness, his enthusiasm had attracted the esteem and affection of millions ; and those who, like the present writer, were numbered among his intimate friends feel the better for having known such a man, and will always cherish his memory.

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[1] Kohl's *Tour*, p. 207.

[2] Morley's *Edmund Burke.*

The work which he had so much at heart was carried on in his declining years, as it has been since, by his colleagues of the Gaelic League, and notably by its President, Dr. Douglas Hyde. Though a Protestant and educated at Trinity College, Dr. Hyde is thoroughly imbued with the Irish national spirit. He is a man of considerable ability, with a special aptitude for languages, and has done much propagandist work. He has travelled through all parts of Ireland, talked the old language with the people, and taken from their lips old stories and songs, and has thus been able to write much on Irish legends and folk-lore. Less prominent but scarcely less enthusiastic in the movement have been Mr. MacNeill, Father Dineen, Dr. O'Hickey, Father O'Reilly, Father O'Leary, and others. They set before themselves the task of restoring to Ireland her rightful heritage from the past in language, in story, in legend, in music, and in song; and when it is remembered how far the process of Anglicization had gone, it was a task from which even Hercules might have recoiled. The Irish language had indeed fallen low. The landed gentry despised it, the professional classes and the merchants in towns were all unfriendly to it, the priest ceased to use it in his sermons, and the schoolmaster shunned it in the school; and when the peasant spoke it, it was to the donkey he belaboured on the roadside or to the cattle he drove through the fields. It was English poetry which was admired, English novels and English newspapers which were read, English dress which was worn, and English fashions copied. The names of Patrick and Bridget, and Brendan and Columba, had given place to George and Arthur, and Mabel and Maud. Irish history was tabooed as a series of faction fights. The country fiddler and piper were no longer heard, and the cross-road dance no longer seen. And the change had not benefited Ireland. Her manufactures had decayed, energy, and enterprise and initiative had become less, national dignity and self-respect were but empty names, and Irish rural life had become so dull that thousands were every year flying to foreign lands.

In 1901 there were but 21,000 persons in Ireland who spoke Irish only. The Gaelic Leaguers did not want to have all Irishmen such as these, for they wanted English to be retained for the country's material needs. It would be madness to discard so great a language—the language of a world-wide Empire. But they wanted the Irish people to be a bilingual people, to speak their own old tongue, to dance Irish jigs and reels, to cultivate Irish music and encourage Irish art, to study their history with all its lights and shades. They were encouraged by what they had seen done by Greeks and Slavs, and Poles and Magyars, and Welsh, and they believed that what these had done to revive their language and distinctive national characteristics could be done in Ireland.[1] As usual, Trinity College was on the anti-National side. Dr. Mahaffy thought that to revive the Irish language would be a retrograde step—a return to the Tower of Babel. His colleague, Professor

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[1] Dubois, p. 437.

Atkinson, declared that Irish was not good enough for a patois; and neither in the Primary nor Intermediate system of education was Irish given any substantial encouragement.[1] The shoneens everywhere, that is, the Irishmen who ape England and its ways, predicted failure—for everything Irish was sure to fail. Many others, while indulging in loud talk against England, would do nothing but pass resolutions. And the number of the apathetic was legion.

But Dr. Hyde and his colleagues struggled on, and with a patience, an energy, a determination to succeed not usually associated with Irishmen. Success at last came. In 1906 there were nearly 100,000 children learning Irish in the National Schools, and nearly 3000 presented themselves for examination in that subject at the Intermediate examinations of the preceding year. By that time Irish and Irish history could be taught in the National Schools within school hours, a concession very difficult to obtain.[2] There were nearly 1000 branches of the Gaelic League; there were Gaelic festivals where Irish stories were told, Irish jigs and reels danced, and Irish songs sung, and there was the yearly National Festival (the Ardh-Fheis), where these things were done on a national scale. Irish concerts were often organized, Irish lectures given, and there was an Irish newspaper, the *Claideamh Solius*, the recognized organ of the Gaelic Leaguers. Wisely avoiding politics, the Gaelic League has attracted men of various classes and creeds — priests, parsons, lawyers, doctors, journalists, members of Parliament. Dr. Hyde himself is a Protestant, Mr. Stephen Gwynn, M.P., author and poet, is also a Protestant, Lord Castletown is a peer of the realm, Mr. Gibson is heir to Lord Ashbourne, Rev. Mr. Hannay is a literary parson in the west of Ireland, Colonel Moore a distinguished army officer. In America the Gaelic League has many branches, and when in recent years Dr. Hyde went to America he brought home with him after a short lecturing tour the sum of £10,000 for the spread of the organization at home. Subscriptions have come from Australia and from the Argentine

[1] Dubois, pp. 414-17.

[2] *Ibid.* 417-19.

Republic, and in London an Irish Texts Society has been formed. Under its auspices a Dictionary has been brought out by Father Dineen, and Irish texts have been edited by capable Irish scholars. For works written in Irish the time is not yet ripe, and though many smaller works have been published, some of which have met with a ready sale, as yet no original Irish book of permanent value has appeared.

In English, however, there has been a literary revival largely due to the spirit evoked by the Gaelic movement. In Dublin there is a National Literary Society at which papers are read on national subjects. In London there is a similar Society, under the auspices of which some valuable monographs have been published on such men as Davis, Sarsfield, Owen Roe O'Neill, and Dr. Doyle. Mr. Graves, himself a poet, has brought out an Irish song-book ; Mr. Standish O'Grady has written historical fiction dealing with Elizabethan times, and Dr. Hyde has told the story of early Gaelic literature. Besides his book on Dr. Doyle, Mr. Michael MacDonagh has dealt with O'Connell.[1] Mr. D. J. O'Donoghue has done much in the field of literary biography, and Mr. Larminie has dealt with West of Ireland folk-lore. Ethna Carbery and Moira O'Neill are both sweet singers from Ulster. T. D. Sullivan is responsible for some lyrics which have won world-wide fame. Dr. Sheehan deals with the Irish priest's life and in that field is supreme. Miss Lawless is Anglo-Irish rather than Irish ; Miss Barlow is happy in describing the Irish peasantry ; and Lady Gregory's attachment is for Pagan Ireland. She has also had a large share in establishing an Irish Literary Theatre, in which several plays written by Lady Gregory herself and some of her literary friends have been produced. But neither of these plays has any striking merit, and so far nothing great has been done on the stage. Mr. George Russell has not written plays, but is a poet of undoubted gifts. He is not easily understood, and is more of a mystic than any of his contemporaries. Without caring to describe the scenery of his country or its ruins, or to grow enthusiastic about the great events of its history, yet he is Irish to the core. Vague, indefinite, idealistic, he is pantheistic in his philosophy and pagan in his belief, one to whom Pagan Ireland rather than Christian Ireland appeals.[1] Mr. Yeats, however, is the most famous of the group, the high-priest of the Irish Literary Theatre. He has written plays and poems and a little prose, and often expresses beautiful thoughts in beautiful language. Vague and dreamy, he has gone to Irish Pagan mythology for his themes, to the fairy palace and the enchanted castle, to the goddesses and legendary heroes, to Maebh and Oisin and Cuchullain. It is doubtful if he is a Christian, for he does not approve of the morality of the churches; and he cares little for the concrete facts of Irish history. To the solid earth on which he stands, to the sights and scenes around him, he prefers the palace of the fairy and the land of the ever young, and not infrequently he is so misty and indefinite that he eludes the ordinary intelligence.[2] He has his admirers, and they are not few, but he can never become a national poet, nor be the head of a great literary movement; for the people are not likely to accept as a leader or as a literary prophet one who lives for ever with fairies and dreams, and who clings to a philosophy and a religion (if they can be called such) which he himself is unable to explain.[3]

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[1] See also his *Viceroy's Post-Bag*.

It has been observed by M. Dubois[4] that there is no case in European history in which a national renaissance has not been accompanied or followed by an economic one, and when the Gaelic movement began such an economic renaissance was badly required in Ireland. Half a century after Kane had written of its mineral wealth and industrial possibilities[5] the coalfields of Armagh and Tyrone, and the copper and lead deposits of Wicklow, Wexford, and Waterford, were still undeveloped. The coal-mines at Castlecomer and the iron mines at Arigna suffered from inadequate transport facilities. Irish

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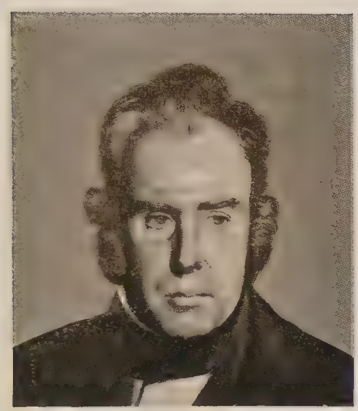
[1] *To-day and To-morrow in Ireland*, pp. 29-30.

[2] *Irish Ideals*, pp. 94, 99, 101.

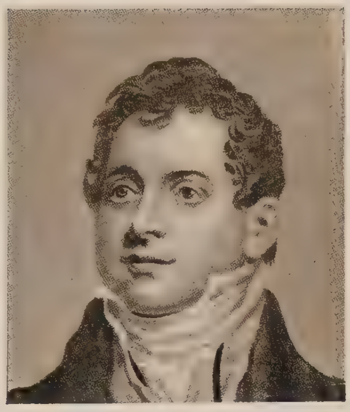
[3] *North American Review*, October 1902, article by Fiona MacLeod.

[4] *Contemporary Ireland*, p. 404.

[5] See Kane's *Industrial Resources of Ireland.*



WILLIAM CARLETON



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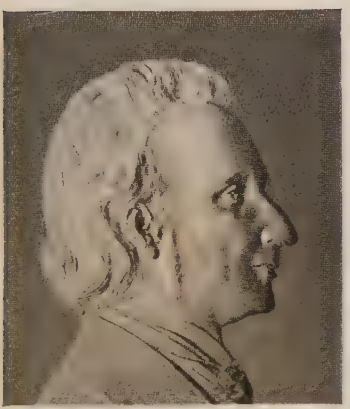

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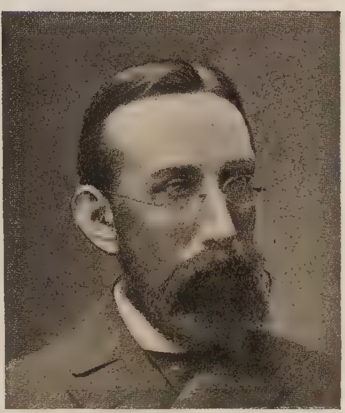

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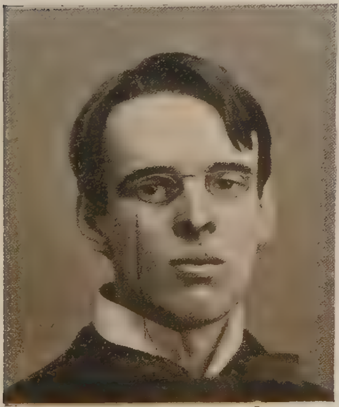

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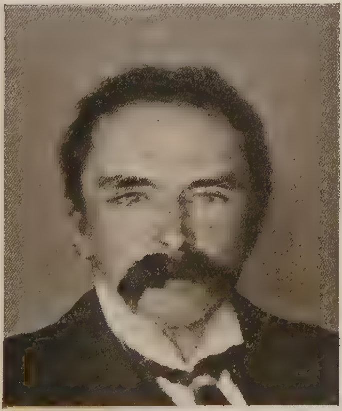

DR. DOUGLAS HYDE

peat was used only for fuel. Irish fisheries yielded wealth to Frenchmen and Manxmen, but not to Irishmen. The waters of so many noble rivers, each capable of generating enormous electric power and of turning a thousand mill-wheels, rushed idly to the sea. In Ulster, indeed, the linen manufacture flourished, Dublin contained the greatest brewery in the world, at Dublin and Cork were thriving distilleries, and at Belfast were enormous and prosperous shipbuilding yards; but these stood out like so many oases in the dreary desert of industrial decay. As for agriculture, it had not passed beyond primitive conditions, and in consequence the soil did not give half the yield which it might give. Newspapers and public men complained that British capital was not directed towards Ireland, ignoring the fact that millions of Irish money were invested abroad and millions more lying unproductive in the Savings Banks at home.

By co-operation and self-help, by improved methods of tillage and improved breeds of stock, by imparting better technical training, and by a more careful study of the requirements of the markets at home and abroad, much has been done by the Agricultural Department and by the Congested Board. The land yields more, stock are more marketable, the Irish fisheries have ceased to be monopolized by Manx and French, there has been a distinct revival in the Irish butter, poultry, and egg trade. Homespuns are produced along the western seaboard and carpets in Donegal, the woollen manufactures have made progress in Munster, and there is an increasing demand for Irish lace.[1] Not a little of the credit for this revival, partial and incomplete though it be, is due to Sir Horace Plunkett, who deserves well of Ireland. He would, however, have deserved better if he had not attacked the Catholic clergy and their religion. Premising that Catholicity, from its too great reliance on authority, blights initiative and self-reliance, and is unfavourable to the growth of industrial habits, he points to Ulster, Protestant and prosperous, and to the Catholic provinces, poor and unprogressive; he charges the

[1] *Irish Rural Life*, pp. 129, 152-4, 157.

priests with not doing enough to promote temperance and thrift, and he blames them for building expensive churches in the midst of poverty-stricken congregations, and for filling these churches with the meretricious products of foreign art, while they neglect the art which is of native growth.[1] These charges have been effectively answered in a singularly able book by a singularly able man, Dr. O'Riordan, Rector of the Irish College at Rome, a man whose extensive scholarship recalls the days of Wadding and Colgan and Lynch. Dr. O'Riordan shows conclusively that Ulster is not so prosperous as Sir H. Plunkett would have us believe; that Belgium, prosperous and Catholic, refutes the charge that Catholicity is opposed to industrial habits; that Catholics have had to build new churches, having been plundered by Protestants of those they once had. And he shows that the priests were Sir Horace Plunkett's best helpers, and in no schools has so much been done for technical training as in the convent schools.[2]

It was in the pages of the Dublin *Leader* that Dr. O'Riordan's book first appeared in serial form, and to that journal and its genial editor, Mr. Moran, the Irish revival owes much. No one will easily take Mr. Moran for anything but an Irishman. His quick perception of a humorous situation, the facility with which in writing and in speech he uses apparently unpromising materials so that laughter may follow, are just the characteristics of an Irishman with the wit and humour of his race. He has studied the Irish language himself, and believes that it ought to be studied by every other Irishman as well; and he wants an Irish literary revival, though he has not much sympathy with the dreams and fairies of Mr. Yeats. He is of an eminently practical turn of mind, and fully realizes that what Ireland wants is men with confidence in themselves and in their country;[3] men who will act rather than talk; men who do not think that they have done everything for Ireland when they have come together, made some long-winded speeches, and passed equally long-winded and futile resolutions. In an age of commercial journalism the paper which would refuse English and only insert Irish advertisements would be regarded as a strange novelty. Yet Mr. Moran has done this, and with the happy result that, while his paper prospers, a valuable and much-needed stimulus has been given to Irish enterprise.

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[1] *Ireland in the New Century*, chap. iv.

[2] *Catholicity and Progress in Ireland*, pp. 14, 42, 208-27, 410-20.

[3] *Irish Ideals*, pp. 38-39.

CHAPTER XXI

The Irish Abroad

THE English made permanent settlements in North America, early in the seventeenth century, at Virginia and at Plymouth, and William Penn established a colony in Pennsylvania in 1682. The Irish, however, were slow to follow where the English led, and not till 1677 was there an Irish Quaker colony at Salem, in New Jersey, and a still larger colony, also Quakers, settled at Philadelphia.[1] Before the century closed an Irish Catholic gentleman named Carroll settled in Maryland. Early in the eighteenth century the stream of Irish emigration flowed westward with great volume, and for many years a yearly average of 3000 Irish, mostly Presbyterians from Ulster, landed on American soil.[2] During that period the Irish Catholics went for the most part to France. Not all, however, for we find in the middle of the eighteenth century that there were M'Duffys, M'Dowells, and M'Grudders in Virginia, an O'Hara at Pittsburg, and at Burlington no less than 100 Dublin men landed from a single ship.[3] Excessive rents and excessive tithes drove away thousands of Irish, both Catholic and Presbyterian, in the years preceding the War of American Independence, and by that time the Irish had grown numerous, and in many cases wealthy, in the Carolinas, Maryland, Georgia, and Virginia, in the New England States, and even in far-away Kentucky and Tennessee.[4] They were among the most resolute opponents of English tyranny, and when war broke out their valour was conspicuous both on sea and land. They fought at Lexington and Bunker Hill;

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[1] O'Hanlon's *Irish-American History*, pp. 57, 63.

[2] *Ibid.* 70.

[3] *Ibid.* 82-84, 100-101.

[4] *Ibid.* 104-9, 137-9.

the Irish-American Brigade of Pennsylvania were among the best troops which Washington led; and on sea Jack Barry was one of England's most dreaded foes.[1] No less than nine of those who signed the Declaration of Independence were Irish or of Irish descent;[2] at a critical period of the war twenty-three Irishmen subscribed half a million dollars;[3] and when the war was over to no soldiers was Washington more grateful than to the Irish.[4] In 1771 and 1772 the number of Irish emigrants to America was 17,350, and in one fortnight in the following year it was 3500.[5] They were so numerous at the opening of the war that they completely dominated the State of Pennsylvania, and in 1785 it was given in evidence before a Committee of the British House of Commons that "half of the rebel Continental army were from Ireland."[6]

To a country which owed so much to Irish valour, which imposed no restrictions on account of religion,[7] and in which the rack-renting landlord and the grasping tithe-proctor were unknown, it might have been expected that there would have been a sudden influx of Irish emigrants in the years following the war. But careful research has discovered that for the ten years from 1784 to 1794 the average number of immigrants from all foreign countries was not more than 4000 a year, and necessarily but a portion, and probably a small portion, of these was from Ireland.[8] The reason is not far to seek. These were the years following the removal of the commercial restrictions and the acquisition of legislative independence, the years during which Irish agriculture was prosperous and the Irish manufacturing industry advanced with giant strides; and Irishmen had no desire to cross the sea as long as there was prosperity at home. Then came the long war with France, during which Irishmen thought it dangerous to cross the ocean in vessels flying the British flag. When the war was ended amid the smoke of Waterloo, the tide once more began to flow; and it has been calculated that from 1819 to 1855 nearly two millions left Ireland for the United States. Another estimate is that from 1820 to 1872 the number was three millions. But both figures are obviously too low, and do not sufficiently take count of the number of Irish who left British ports, and are therefore put down as natives of Great Britain.[1]

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[1] O'Hanlon, pp. 159-60, 168-72, 187-92.

[2] *Ibid.* 196-208.

[3] *Ibid.* 261.

[4] Maguire's *The Irish in America*, pp. 354-5.

[5] Bagenal's *The American Irish*, p. 6.

[6] *Ibid.* 9, 13.

[7] O'Hanlon, Appendix 3—Constitution of the United States—"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the exercise thereof."

[8] Bagenal, pp. 25-26.

But besides those who went to the United States, many Irishmen crossed the Atlantic to settle in Quebec, in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, in Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. In Nova Scotia there is much greater cold in winter and much greater heat in summer than in Ireland; but the climate is not unhealthy, and in agriculture, in the fisheries, and in the mines many who came from Ireland found wealth. Sobriety, industry, and perseverance enabled them to succeed; the day-labourer soon became a farmer or prosperous merchant, and in half a century the Irish grew to be a great factor in the life of Nova Scotia. Its capital in 1816 contained but 1500 Catholics, with a few others scattered over the colony, but in 1866 the Catholics of the colony numbered 115,000, of whom no less than 40,000 were Irish.[2] The Irish were then a majority of the inhabitants of Halifax, owning some of its largest shops; and of the 2000 Irish voters in the city all or nearly all owned £50 of real estate.[3] In Prince Edward Island a somewhat similar state of things prevailed. Industry, sobriety, and thrift had there also enabled the Irish day-labourer to acquire some of the rich land, and so to acquire not only a competency, but sometimes wealth. Mr. Maguire found an Irishman, the Hon. D. Brennan, one of the shrewdest and ablest of the island merchants; and in an Irish settlement which he visited he found men who had come without a sixpence in possession of good-sized, well-tilled, well-stocked farms, comfortable houses, and every evidence of prosperity. As for the Irish girls, he gives the testimony of a Scotch Bishop, that there "could not be a more modest, chaste, and well-conducted class; a case of scandal is of the very rarest

[1] Bagenal, pp. 26-29.
[2] Maguire, pp. 11-12.
[3] *Ibid.* 3-5, 20.

occurrence among them."[1] In St. John, the capital of New Brunswick, the Irish in 1866 owned fully half the property and wealth.[2] In 1874 the Catholics of Newfoundland numbered a third of the entire population of the colony, all descendants of Irish emigrants, and in 1901 the proportion was still maintained.[3] Nor had the Irish been less successful along the St. Lawrence. In 1866 the Irish Catholic working men in Quebec had £80,000 lodged in the Savings Bank, and there were cases where individual Irishmen had made fortunes of £50,000, though they had come out without a shilling.[4] Nor were there less than 30,000 Irish Catholics in the city of Montreal.[5]

In the terrible exodus of the famine years Irish emigrants did not go to Newfoundland, and few of these went to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, or Prince Edward Island. But hundreds of thousands directed their course to Canada, and of these the fate was sad in the extreme. Borne in sailing vessels—old, unseaworthy, and slow—the ten or twelve weeks of the voyage was a time of horror. Flying from hunger, they had an insufficient supply of food on board ; flying from fever, they had typhus among the passengers and were soon stricken down themselves; and without medicine, nursing, or medical attendance, sickness was but the prelude to death, followed by burial at sea. From stem to stern of the vessel pestilence was lord of all, and night and day the sounds that met the ear were the incoherent mutterings of the delirious, the faint moans of the dying, and the pitiful wailing for the dead. Deaths were necessarily frequent, and the cases were not a few where a family of twelve left Ireland and only one reached the end of his journey. And when the mouth of the St. Lawrence was reached there was a fresh catalogue of horrors. Fearful of admitting typhus-stricken patients, the Canadian Government had made Grosse Isle a quarantine station, and there all vessels were examined and all still in fever detained. But the accommodation provided was altogether insufficient, and the rude fever-sheds were soon filled to overflowing. Inside were patients in delirium, outside in the open were men and women lying half-naked and helpless, with none to give them food or drink. The daily death-roll was at least 100, and often reached to twice that amount. In Grosse Isle alone as many as ten thousand, or perhaps twelve thousand, were buried, nearly half of these being unknown;[1] and along the St. Lawrence the horrors of Grosse Isle were renewed. At Quebec as many as 1100 were lying at the same time in the fever-sheds, and within one small railed-in area 600 Irish emigrants were interred. At Kingston the deaths were so many that coffins could not be supplied, and in one large pit 1900 uncoffined Irish were laid.[2] The priests who ministered, the nuns who nursed were struck down; often whole families were swept away, and sometimes father and mother died leaving helpless children too young to understand their loss. The Irish already in Canada helped some of these orphans; others were adopted by Protestants and brought up as such; and many were cared for by French Canadians.[3] In the year that followed other Irish came, happily without having to enter the fever-sheds or the nameless graves. In every walk of life they prospered—as farmers and traders, as lawyers, doctors, and engineers; and in the higher offices of State more than one Irishman held office as Minister of the Crown.

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[1] Maguire, pp. 32-33, 45.

[2] *Ibid.* 77.

[3] *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

[4] Maguire, p. 93.

[5] *Ibid.* 97.

But the greater number of the Irish who traversed the Atlantic made their way to the United States. Like those who entered the St. Lawrence, they travelled in fever-stricken vessels, and when cast ashore at New York became inmates of fever hospitals. On the voyage they had breathed a pestilential atmosphere, and had seen sickness and death around them; and many a blushing and beautiful Irish girl, hitherto stainless as the lily, had been assailed in mid-ocean by some sailor or ship's officer and had become a victim to his lawless lust.[4] What those who entered the fever hospitals suffered may be gathered from the fact that in one room but 50 feet square there were found 100 persons sick and dying, among them being the bodies of two who had died five days previously and since then had been left unburied.[1] Nor were the troubles of those who braved the fever on shipboard or on land over when they landed safely and in health on American soil. In the streets of the city they were set upon and robbed; they were overcharged by dishonest lodging-house keepers; they were sold bogus tickets by fraudulent agents of bankrupt passenger companies; and not infrequently the innocent girl was enticed into the abodes of the fallen to lead a life of dishonour.[2] At length, in 1855, an official landing-place was established at New York, and there all vessels discharged their passengers; and all passengers had expert advice to aid them in getting safely to their destination.[3]

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[1] Maguire, pp. 134-8. [2] *Ibid.* 149-53. [3] *Ibid.* 144, 150. [4] *Ibid.* 180-4.

Mr. Maguire laments that so many of the Irish clung to the cities instead of going west, where land could have been easily acquired. In some cases no doubt they had not the means to go west. In many cases when they had they preferred the society of the towns, the public-house, the theatre, the political meeting, to the loneliness of rural life. They lived amid surroundings which to them were new and strange, and little in keeping with the life they had previously led. For they lived in the tenement houses of New York, in basements and cellars, in rooms ill-lighted, ill-ventilated, and cold, where typhus, measles, consumption, and other deadly diseases had become chronic, and where infantile mortality had reached such alarming proportions that tens of thousands were yearly swept away before they reached the end of their first year. Of such physical conditions moral degradation was the natural concomitant. The husband frequented the public-house rather than the noisome den which served him for a home, the wife became slatternly and careless; the daughter, seeing the sights she saw where a whole family slept in a single room, grew up without a sense of decency; the son mingled with vicious boys in alleys and cellars; and the children of the Irish boy and girl too often found their way to the brothel, the asylum, and the jail.[4] Fortunately, not all

[1] Maguire, p. 186. [2] *Ibid.* 188, 192. [3] *Ibid.* 208. [4] *Ibid.* 223-33.

the Irish emigrants who remained in the cities thus trod the road to ruin, for some rose superior to their surroundings and by industry and sobriety acquired wealth. Many also, when they had saved a little, left the cities; and in 1870 there was not a State or territory of the American Republic in which Irishmen had not secured a foothold. They were weak in Florida and North Carolina and in Arizona, and in New Mexico still weaker; but in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania they were in great strength, and the State of New York they could almost call their own.[1] As early as 1825 there were Irish settlers in California—miners, farmers, stock-raisers; and when gold was discovered, the Irish were prominent among the new-comers. They played no inconsiderable part in the early history of San Francisco, and progressed so rapidly in that city that in time they were a fourth of its inhabitants and possessed a fourth of its wealth.[2]

These Irish emigrants thus scattered over the United States were mostly Catholics, and as such were confronted with special difficulties. Although the Catholic Assembly of Maryland in 1649 passed an Act giving freedom of religion to all, and New York under a Catholic Mayor followed, in 1683, the lead of Maryland,[3] the Protestants in 1699 refused all toleration to Catholics in New York. Up to 1775 the 5th of November was called Pope Day, and on that day every good Protestant burned the Pope in effigy; and in the Eastern States the Catholics were denied the rights of citizenship, excepting only Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Delaware.[4] Washington prohibited the Pope Day celebration in his army, and in 1790 gratefully acknowledged the aid given by Catholic France.[5] By that date there were nearly 16,000 Catholics in Maryland alone, and in 1808 there was a Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore, John Carroll, a man of Irish descent. The first Catholic Bishop of Richmond was Irish, as were also the second Bishop of Boston, the two first

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[1] Bagenal, pp. 30-33.

[2] Maguire, pp. 264-78.

[3] Shea's *Catholic History of the United States*, pp. 1, 70, 91-92.

[4] *Ibid.* ii. 160.

[5] *Ibid.* 351.

Bishops of New York, and the two first Bishops of Philadelphia; and the first Bishop of Charlestown was Dr. England from Cork, so remarkable for his eloquence and zeal.[1] At the first Council of Baltimore in 1833 there were ten bishops, and at that date there were 300 priests in the United States. At the second Council in 1852 there were six archbishops and twenty-six bishops, while the number of priests throughout the United States had risen to 1385.[2] Many of the Irish no doubt had lost their faith, but, on the other hand, not a few had made heroic efforts to preserve it.

It was contrary to the Declaration of Independence that any religion should be persecuted, and the services of Irish Catholics in the Revolutionary war and in that of 1812 ought to have protected them from attack. But the spirit of bigotry is not easily exorcised, and not a few in the United States viewed the progress of Catholicity with dismay. Fed by calumnies from Great Britain, Protestant ascendency in America became insolent and aggressive, and in many directions a No Popery cry was heard.[3] In 1839 a Catholic Convent was attacked at Baltimore, and was saved from destruction only by the intervention of armed troops.[4] At Charlestown, in the diocese of Boston, the Ursuline Convent was burned to the ground, the nuns and pupils driven forth, the coffins in the graveyard torn up, even the consecrated hosts taken from the sacred vessel and scattered about.[5] In 1844 a Protestant Association was formed at Philadelphia to save America from the abominations of Popery; and while a Catholic Church was being burned down by infuriated bigots, a band played the Orange air, "The Boyne Water."[6] Ten years later the No Popery cry was again clamorously raised, and the secret society of the Know-Nothings came into existence. It was ostensibly to protect American institutions, but in reality it was to have a monopoly of everything for Protestants. One of its articles provided that no political office should be given to any except a native-born Protestant, who, moreover, must not have married a Catholic. And Know-Nothings who were in positions of influence were bound by oath to "remove all foreigners and Roman Catholics from office," nor were they in any case to appoint such.[1] The better class of American Protestants, who respected American institutions and venerated the memory of Washington, shrank from association with such a movement; but it is nevertheless true that in many parts of America, and by many classes, Catholics were regarded with aversion, and that of all Catholics the Irish were the most hated and despised.[2]

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[1] Shea, iii. 306-29.
[2] Maguire, pp. 442-3.
[3] Shea, iii. 420-21.
[4] *Ibid.* 448-9.
[5] *Ibid.* 474-82.
[6] Maguire, p. 433.

Much of this prejudice disappeared in the war of Secession. That such a war was bound to come could have been easily foreseen, with such conflicting views between the Northern and Southern States. The Northerns regarded all men as equal, and looked askance at such an institution as slavery in a land of freedom. The Southerns, in good part descended from old French and English families, had inherited aristocratic tendencies, and still clinging to class privilege and social grades, thought it quite right that the master should be a freeman and the servant a slave. In the North it was held that as slaves were persons their liberty as such should be guaranteed by law. Down South, in the tobacco and cotton fields of Virginia or Alabama, it was strenuously maintained that slaves were property, and therefore that slavery must not only be tolerated but protected. And thus while the Democrats of the South wanted a law protecting slavery, the Republicans of the North wanted a law prohibiting it as out of keeping with American institutions. The Southerns also maintained that each State was supreme within its own borders, and could freely secede from as it had freely joined the United States. The Northern maintained that the concession of any such power to individual States would be to strike a fatal blow at National unity. As neither side would give way, eleven of the Southern States seceded, set up a Southern Confederacy, organized an army and navy, and in April 1861 attacked and captured Fort Sumter, near Charlestown, then garrisoned by United

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[1] Maguire, pp. 446-7.

[2] *Ibid.* 450.

States' troops. And thus began a great struggle which called nearly two millions of armed men into the field, in which at least 600,000 lives were lost, and which cost nearly £1,600,000,000.

The Irish were more numerous in the Northern than in the Southern States, and were not slow to range themselves on the side of National Union. But there were Irishmen in the Southern States, who, though disliking secession and hating slavery, thought that to their own State their allegiance was due first of all. They resented having that State coerced by the Government at Washington, and believed that the supreme sovereignty of each individual State was the very foundation of civil liberty. Therefore there were Irish soldiers on both sides, and more than once they met in actual conflict; and from the first battle to the last they maintained the traditional valour of their race. Among the ablest of the Southern generals were Hill and Early and M'Gowan, all of Irish descent; while Cleyburne, bravest and best-beloved of all by the soldiers, was born in Cork. Ever remarkable for vigilance and activity, for coolness in action and headlong valour in a charge, he fell in 1864 at the head of his troops, and by the whole army none was more regretted than he.[1] As for the Irish rank and file their commanders readily admitted that they were the best of all soldiers—cheerful, cleanly, courageous, enduring privations without a murmur, and ready to attack any position and face any danger.

On the Northern side it was calculated that 150,000 Irish fought. Generals Carey, Griffin, and Butler were of Irish descent, and so also was General Sheridan, the most brilliant cavalry officer of his age. His services were especially noteworthy. He had a prominent part in the bloody battle of Murfreesboro in Tennessee; he ably seconded the efforts of Grant at Missionary Ridge and in the battles of the Wilderness; and towards the close of the war he carried Five Forks, captured all the Confederate cavalry, and was with Grant at the surrender of Lee.[1] Yet it was in the purely Irish regiments, in Corcoran's 69th regiment or in the Irish Brigade under Meagher, that the finest heroism of the war was displayed. Corcoran's regiment embodied in the early part of the war was Irish and Catholic to a man, numbering about 1800 men. At the first battle of Bull Run they behaved with conspicuous gallantry. Their Commander-Colonel Corcoran was taken prisoner, and when released in the following year, he organized Corcoran's Legion, and until he was killed by a fall from his horse in 1863, he did good service with the Army of the Potomac.[2] But meanwhile General Meagher, the brilliant Young Ireland orator of 1848 who had taken command of the Irish Brigade, had done much and was destined to do still more in the days to come. In May 1862 the Northerns under M'Clellan took possession of Norfolk and the mouth of the James River, pushed their gunboats up the river, captured Mechanicsville on land, and hoped to have the Confederate capital, Richmond, soon effectually invested both by land and sea. But their plans were foiled by the energy and celerity of the Southerns, whose batteries on the river drove back the advancing gunboats, and who, under the able leadership of General Johnston, were no less successful on land. On the last day of May Johnston was severely wounded, his place being taken by General Lee, a far abler man. For some weeks there was a lull, but in the middle of June large reinforcements had been sent to M'Clellan, and Stonewall Jackson, little inferior to Lee himself, had come up with his army to the assistance of Lee. In the terrible seven days' battle, or rather series of battles round Richmond, the advantage remained with the Southerns, for M'Clellan was compelled to raise the siege of Richmond and retire with heavy loss beyond the Rappahannock and the Potomac. During these days and nights of retreat, Meagher and the Irish Brigade covered themselves with glory. Their duty was to cover the retreat, and in consequence they were unwearingly engaged. They held the bridge over the Chickahominy while their comrades safely passed over ; they charged the pursuing Southerns up to the very mouth of their guns, and when at last M'Clellan could breathe in safety beyond the James River, many a gallant Irishman had fallen.[1]

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[1] O'Hanlon's *Irish-American History*, pp. 402-3; Maguire, pp. 581-5, 643-9; Fitzhugh Lee's *General Lee*, pp. 351-2.

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[1] O'Hanlon, pp. 449-50, 520, 535, 611, 615; General P. H. Sheridan's *Personal Memoirs*.

[2] O'Hanlon, p. 381.

In August Stonewall Jackson inflicted a severe defeat on the Northerns at the second battle of Bull Run, and then, in conjunction with Lee, he crossed the Potomac into Maryland and threatened Washington.[2] But at the hard-fought battle of Antietam in the following month the advantage was with M'Clellan, and Lee recrossed the Potomac into Virginia. Meagher having been wounded in the battle, his place was taken by another Irishman, Colonel Burke, whose coolness and bravery in action extorted the special admiration of the Compte de Paris.[3] The attenuated ranks of the Irish were soon filled by fresh arrivals, and at Fredericksburg in December, again under Meagher, they performed prodigies of valour. M'Clellan had then been superseded, his place being given to General Burnside, who had under him an army of 150,000 men. Lee had but 80,000, but the advantage of position was with him ; he had strongly entrenched himself, and on every commanding position powerful batteries had been placed. The attack was made by the Northerns from the left bank of the Rappahannock. Lee held the town of Fredericksburg, which was on the right, but offered no great resistance to the enemy's crossing of the river or to their capturing of the town. It was not there he had determined to make his stand, but on the heights at the rear, one of which, Marye's Hill, was the key of his position. It was approached by a ravine, and across the ascending hill Lee had placed two stone breastworks behind which his riflemen were placed. The approach through the ravine was also swept by powerful batteries. Had Burnside properly reconnoitered the position he would have seen that it was impossible of capture by a frontal attack. Yet he determined to attack it and assigned the duty to the Irish Brigade. They must have known that they were marching to destruction, but, as true soldiers, they never hesitated for a moment when ordered to advance.

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[1] O'Hanlon, pp. 410-19 ; General Lee, pp. 151-64.

[2] General Lee, 188-202.

[3] O'Hanlon, pp. 445-6.

What followed is well described by a Confederate General, who was an eye-witness. "In our immediate front," he says, "one could walk on the dead for hundreds of yards. We were pained to see the noble fellows coming up in steady columns to be mowed down by our lines of solid flames of fire from our entrenched position behind the rock wall and the terrible fire from the Washington artillery, commanding every inch of approach. The Irish Brigade would receive our well-directed fire, steady and firm, and when great gaps were cut through their ranks by the artillery, would reform under the incessant fire, come again, sink down and rise again, trample the dead and wounded under foot, and press the stone wall of liquid fire, then recede a few feet, and come again like an avalanche into the very jaws of death, until strength and endurance failed, having been forced back by shell and the deadly Minie ball that no human being could withstand." Not less flattering is the testimony of the *Times* correspondent. "Never at Fontenoy, at Albuera, or at Waterloo was more undoubted courage displayed by the sons of Erin than during the six frantic dashes which they directed against the almost impregnable position of their foe. The bodies which lie in dense masses within forty yards of the muzzles of Colonel Walton's guns are the best evidence of what manner of men they were who pressed on to death with the dauntlessness of a race which has gained glory on a thousand battle-fields, and never more richly deserved than at the foot of Marye's Heights on the 13th of December 1862." The slaughter was terrible, and when night came, out of the 1200 Irishmen who made the attack, only 200 remained.[1] It was such things as these that spread confusion among the Know-Nothings, and caused every true American to see that Irish Catholics were good citizens and gallant soldiers ready to shed their blood in defence of American liberty.

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[1] O'Hanlon, pp. 459-60; Bagenal, p. 139; Maguire, pp. 578-9; Lee, pp. 222-32.

But in addition there was the devotion and self-sacrifice of priests and nuns during the war. From press and platform and pulpit the most shocking calumnies had been circulated about both. They were intriguing, self-seeking, avaricious, wicked, and vile, hating those who professed a different faith, strangers on American soil, giving their allegiance to a foreign power. A No-Popery bigot, anxious to travel by a steamer, objected to travel in the same cabin with a Catholic priest, and threatened if put into the same cabin to fling the priest into the sea. There were Protestants who believed that to kill a Catholic priest or burn down a Catholic church would be doing a most acceptable service to God ; and a Tennessee alderman considered it "doing an honour to the Deity to take his double-barrelled gun and shoot any Catholic he might meet." Priests were often treated with disrespect, and nuns, as they walked the streets, were sometimes insulted, and not a few honest Protestants regarded them with aversion and even terror. Amid the smoke of battle and in the hospital wards much of this bitter feeling passed away, for the priest poured words of consolation into the ear of the dying while the shells hissed and the bullets whizzed around him. And round the ambulance waggons, in the hospitals, and in the prisons, the nuns came and went, whispering words of consolation and hope, walking with noiseless tread and touching with an angel's hand. Like the Master whom they served, they went about doing good, seeking no earthly reward, heeding no insult, making no distinction of party or creed, and knowing that it was expected of a Christian to extend mercy and charity to all. Their looks full of compassion, their hearts filled with pity, their only anxiety was to relieve suffering, to soothe the fevered brow, to moisten the lips that were dry, to staunch the gaping wound. They procured rations for the hungry soldiers and medicine for him who was ill, and, casting aside their natural timidity, they boldly arraigned the doctor who neglected his duty. Under the influence of these sights and scenes the heart of the infidel and bigot was softened, the look of aversion gave way to one of veneration and gratitude, and often, as the last moment came creeping on, the light of faith dawned in a soul hitherto darkened by unbelief. How many conversions were thus effected? how many, grateful to the sister, were willing to believe what she believed? how many poured benedictions upon her name? how many sent their letters of thanks and their presents from every State and city of the great republic? After the war, insulting priests or nuns became a rare occurrence. On the contrary, as the sister passed she was saluted with respect; when she entered the steamer or railroad car the soldier, maimed and battle-scarred, rose and eagerly proffered her his seat, and as he recounted to his fellow-passengers what he had seen in the military hospitals or military prisons his voice shook with emotion and his eyes filled with tears. After the war the Irish Catholic was no longer regarded as an alien, but as a good citizen and a gallant soldier, attached to the land of his adoption, and ready to die in its defence.[1]

Owing to the wisdom and magnanimity of the conquerors in the great struggle the wounds inflicted on the conquered soon healed, and the bitter memories of defeat were effaced. But even a rich country found the cost of the war to press heavily, and the too rapid construction of railways left millions of money for a time unproductive, and led to the financial crisis of 1873. Yet the resources of the country were so vast that recovery was rapid. In addition to the gold-mines of California others were discovered at Colorado, silver was found in Nevada, inexhaustible petroleum wells in Pennsylvania, and the coal deposits covered an area six times as extensive as Ireland. But, further, there was the resource, the inventiveness, the boundless energy of the people. "The country whose population has been developing within 280 years already owned one-third of the world's mining, one-fourth of its manufactures, one-fifth of its agriculture, and at least one-sixth of the world's wealth is already concentrated in the strip of territory in Central North America which has the name of the United States."[2] This described the condition of things in 1880. In the year that followed the same rate of progress was maintained, and in the year 1900 the value of the mining products alone was equal to £200,000,000. From 1850 to 1897 the population of the New England States had almost doubled, that of the Middle States had trebled, that of the Southern States almost trebled, that of the Prairie States quadrupled, and the progress of the Pacific States was described as marvellous. The total population, which in 1860 was but 31,000,000, in 1900 had reached 76,000,000.[1]

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[1] Maguire, pp. 448-87.

[2] *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article "United States."

The Irish had their own share in producing these marvellous results. From 1860 the yearly number of Irish immigrants was never below 60,000, and some years was nearly twice that amount; from 1820 to 1870 the yearly average was 44,000, and the average since then has at least been 30,000.[2] Too many of these remained in the Eastern cities, and in the unhealthy atmosphere of the city tenement they fell victims to drink and disease. Not a few, however, prospered, and in the second generation they rose to the highest positions. Those who went West did splendid work as pioneers. They cleared the woods, drained the swamps, made the roads, and turned the prairie into grain-producing fields. Often it was Irish hands that built the railroad and spanned the river, and laid the telegraph wire, and drove the train and the tram-car, that went down the mining-shaft, or drove the herd of cattle over the prairie; and not infrequently the Irishman sat in the judge's seat, or in the editor's chair, or, as a great advocate, pleaded before an American jury with all the moving eloquence of his race. In the Catholic Church they were especially prominent. "If we turn," said Dr. Spalding, "to explain this rebirth of Catholicism among the English-speaking peoples, we must at once admit that the Irish race is the providential instrument through which God has wrought this marvellous revival. They have given to Catholicism in the country a vigour and cohesiveness which enable it to assimilate the most heterogeneous elements, and without which it is not at all certain that the vast majority of Catholics emigrating hither from other lands would not have been lost to the Church." [1]

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[1] *Encyclopædia Britannica; North American Review*, May, June, July, and September 1897—articles by Mr. Mulhall, the well-known statistician.

[2] *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article "Ireland."

The money which the Irish labourer or the Irish servant-girl earned so hard was given ungrudgingly to build church or orphanage or school, and all over the land Irish priests ministered to the people of their own blood. The first Bishop of Pittsburg was a Cork man, Michael O'Connor; the second Bishop of Savannah was John Barry of Wexford; the Archbishop of Cincinnati was the Irishman Purcell, and in St. Louis was an Irish Archbishop named Kenrick; in New York a M'Cluskey succeeded a Hughes, and in Chicago diocese the Irishman Duggan succeeded the Irishman Antony O'Regan.[2] At the present day (1909) a Gibbons, raised to the purple of a Roman Cardinal, rules at Baltimore; a Ryan, most eloquent of archbishops, rules at Philadelphia; and an O'Riordan wields the archbishop's crozier by the waters of the Pacific. Under these and other archbishops and bishops there are thousands of Irish nuns labouring with the piety of St. Bridget, and Irish priests zealous as St. Columbanus or St. Columba. At the head of the Catholic University of Washington the Irishman, Dr. Conaty, was succeeded by another Irishman, Dr. O'Connell, to be succeeded in turn by a well-known historical scholar with the unmistakably Irish name of Shahan. In the editor's chair of one of the most influential of American newspapers there lately sat the genial Irishman, Rev. T. E. Judge, D.D., cut off all too soon, just as his splendid intellectual powers had reached their prime. And in the city by the Golden Gate one of the stoutest champions of the Catholic Church is the famous Galwayman, Rev. P. C. Yorke, D.D. With a gift of oratory which places him on a level with the most eloquent of living Irishmen, either in the old world or in the new, and with intellectual capacity and an extent of knowledge which would adorn the highest position in the American Church, he has for truth and justice the zeal of

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[1] Bagenal, pp. 64-5.

[2] Shea, vol. iv.

Savonarola, and for injustice the *sæva indignatio* of Swift. The venal official trembles before him as the trenchant assailant of corruption; the grasping capitalist fears him as the acknowledged champion of the toiler; the traducer of Ireland fears him, for his wrath is terrible when his native land is unjustly assailed; and when a clique of men on the Pacific sea-board, forming themselves into the Anti-Popery Society, revived the slanders of Know-Nothingism, Dr. Yorke poured upon them such a lava tide of scorn that they retired from the contest beaten and disgraced. With such zeal and ability as this employed in the service of the Catholic Church and of Ireland, it is little wonder that the Church has grown and prospered in the West of the Atlantic, as it is little wonder that the United States has come to be known as the Greater Ireland beyond the sea.

Concurrently with the outward flow to America during the century there was also a stream of emigration from Ireland to Australia, though not so broad and deep as that which flowed West. But the earliest who went to Australia were involuntary exiles, for it was then a penal settlement, and thither were sent the rebels of 1798, the Threshers and Ribbonmen of a later date, and the Young Irelanders of 1848. Cruel beyond measure was their fate. Many of them were men of education, pure of life and noble of character, with unselfish aims and lofty ideals, whose only crime was that they loved their country well and had sacrificed their liberty in its defence. Yet on the long voyage to the Southern Sea they were on shipboard herded with the vilest of the vile, with the desperadoes of English cities, the off-scourings of British prisons. At table, in sleeping-room, and exercise-yard they had to associate with the reprieved murderer, the wife-beater, the swindler, the successful forger, and the unsuccessful assassin—men in whose mouths there was always an obscene word, and to whom virtue was a matter for ridicule.[1] And often some petty tyrant, armed with Government authority and animated by racial and religious prejudice, treated the Irish political prisoners with far greater severity than the vilest criminal on board.

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[1] See Marcus Clarke's *For the Term of his Natural Life*, which gives a terrible picture of convict life on shipboard and on land. He is a writer of fiction, but in this book he writes of "events which have actually occurred."

The same injustice was continued on land, and when the convicts were cast ashore at Sydney or in Van Dieman's Land, the British bully, who had to his account a hideous catalogue of crimes, was treated with leniency while the Irishman was watched and thwarted at every turn. The magistrate or military Governor, knowing that the Irishman had plotted sedition at home, assumed that he was still anxious to plot sedition abroad, and at heart was disloyal to British rule; and in his case the privileges were fewer than in other cases, the surveillance more strict, and the punishment more severe. In spite of his previous good conduct Holt, the Wicklow insurgent leader, on mere suspicion of being concerned in some meditated outbreak among the prisoners, was deported from Sydney to Norfolk Island, where the roughest work and the most brutal treatment was his share. An Irish lad of twenty, named Paddy Galvin, because he refused to reveal where some pikes were supposed to be concealed, was given 300 lashes. After the first hundred his shoulder-blades were laid bare, the second hundred reduced the middle of his back to pulp, and the last hundred he received on the calves of his legs. Another Irishman named Fitzgerald also received 300 lashes, and Holt, who was present and who had seen the horrors of 1798 in Ireland, declared that he had never seen a more revolting scene. Two men did the flogging, and with as much regularity as two threshers in a barn. "The day was windy, and I protest that though I was at least fifteen yards to leeward, the blood and flesh blew in my face as the executioners shook it off from their cats."[1]

These Irishmen were mostly Catholics, and as such had known what it was to belong to a despised creed. But the era of penal legislation was over in Ireland, and at home the Irish Catholics were free to practise their religion. In the penal settlements of Sydney and Van Diemen's Land they were again face to face with the evil past. Only the Protestant religion would be tolerated, and when Sunday came, the Catholics must go to the Protestant church or be flogged ; and many a flogging did the poor Catholic convicts thus receive. Among the first batch from Ireland were three priests wrongfully punished, as was afterwards discovered, for complicity in the rebellion of 1798. These were Father O'Neil of Youghal, Father Dixon of Wexford, and Father Harold of Dublin. Father O'Neil was soon sent back to Ireland by the Government. The other two were for a time allowed to say mass, but the permission was soon withdrawn, and both were sent back to Ireland, leaving the Catholics again no minister of their own faith, and no option but to attend the Protestant service.[1] In 1817 an Irish priest who knew the Irish language and often preached in it volunteered for Sydney. But neither his religion nor his language would be allowed in a penal settlement where speaking a word of Irish was punished with fifty lashes, and he too was sent away.[2]

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[1] Holt's *Memoirs*, ii. 118-22.

But the sky cannot be always dark and the storm must cease to blow, and at last there came the sunshine and the calm. In 1820 two Cork priests, Father Therry and Connolly, arrived in Sydney and were permitted by the authorities to minister to their co-religionists.[3] In 1836, chiefly owing to the representations of the Governor, Sir Richard Bourke, the vexatious monopoly of Protestantism ceased, and an Act was passed giving complete religious toleration to all creeds. At that date New South Wales had for some years a Legislative Council, partly elective and partly nominated by the Crown, but in 1856 this gave way to a freely elected Parliament and a Government responsible to the people. Meanwhile also, owing to constant agitation both at Sydney and in Van Diemen's Land, transportation of convicts to Australia ceased. Among those who thus agitated not a few were free immigrants from Ireland. In the ten years from 1842 to 1852 a yearly average of 2500 Irish had come ; in the next ten years the average rose to 11,500 ; in the next ten years it was 8000 ;

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[1] Hogan, pp. 226-31. [2] *Ibid.* 233-6. [3] *Ibid.* 236-8.

and from 1871 to 1880 it was 6000. Since then there has been a falling off, the highest in any one year being 1005—for the year 1899.[1] Nor have the Irish been behindhand in developing Australian resources, in building up Australian cities, and in shaping Australian destinies, whether they first came to Australia as convicts or as freemen. As in America too many of them remained in the cities, and some of these fared ill. But others prospered as artizans, as shopkeepers, as contractors, and not a few, wisely investing their savings in building-ground, rapidly acquired wealth. For those who went into the rural districts nothing was required but sobriety and thrift. The Glenveigh tenants, thrown upon the roadside in Donegal, were in 1863 reported to be doing well in Victoria. And Father Dunne, who brought as many as 6000 evicted from Munster, and got land for them from the Queensland Government, saw them exchange comfort and contentment abroad for discontent and poverty at home.[2]

Among the educated classes the success of the Irish has been remarkable, and in medicine and engineering, in art and science, in literature and law, an Irishman has often held the premier place. Three Irishmen in succession have been Governors of New South Wales, two Irishmen have been Premiers, another has been Chief-Justice, another Attorney-General, while another has held the foremost place at the Bar. In South Australia also three Irishmen in succession have filled the position of Governor. Another was Lieutenant-Governor of Queensland. In Victoria three Irishmen have been Premiers, two have been Speakers, two have been Chief-Justices.[3] It was an Irishman, Peter Lalor, who led the revolt of the miners at Ballarat against the capricious tyranny of a Governor. He died in 1889 as the Hon. Peter Lalor, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, his funeral being attended by the Governor of Victoria and the members of the Victorian Ministry.[4]

In every colony the Irish have been the mainstay of the

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[1] *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article "Ireland."

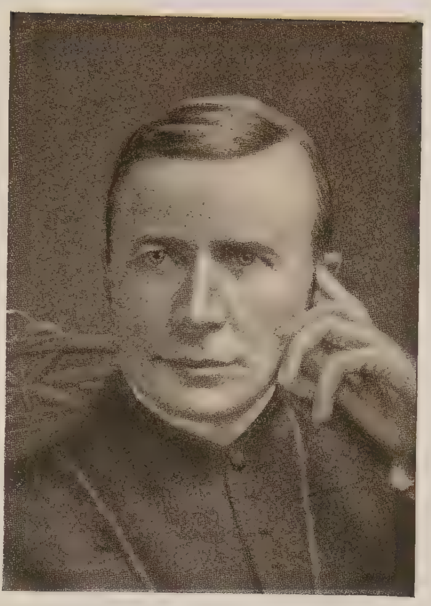
[2] Hogan, pp. 157-63.

[3] *Ibid.* 302-27.

[4] *Ibid.* 70-77, Davitt's *Life and Progress in Australia*, p. 157.

Lawrence.

CARDINAL MORAN


CARDINAL GIBBONS

MONSIGNOR SHAHAN

Taber.

DR. YORKE

Catholic Church; indeed if the Irish were taken away the Catholic Church would be non-existent on Australian soil. It is the Irish who have built the churches and orphanages and schools, as it is they who have supplied the nuns and bishops and priests. At Sydney a noted Irishman rules as Cardinal Archbishop, a scholar to whom every student of Irish history owes much. At Melbourne one Irish-born Archbishop has been succeeded by another. At Adelaide the Archbishop O'Reilly hails from Kilkenny; at Hobart the Archbishop Delaney hails from Galway; and Murray and Lanigan, and Moore and Doyle and Murphy are the names—unmistakably Irish—which other Australian bishops bear.[1] Loyal to their several colonies the Irish are, because they are under a free Government and can prosper and thrive; and they are loyal to the Church of their fathers, and are characteristically generous in its support. And not less loyal they are to the little island far away in the Northern sea. In every city and town there is a St. Patrick's Hall, or an Irish Hall, or a Hibernian Hall where the children of Ireland love to meet; where the lecture on Ireland arouses enthusiasm, where the delegate arrived from Ireland is sure of a warm welcome, and where, when the songs of Ireland are sung, there is a thrill through the Irish heart and a tear in the Irish eye. In the streets of Melbourne a party of freshly-arrived Irish immigrants were seen to open a little box they had brought with them containing just one green sod of Irish earth. The sight caused an old woman among the older settlers to cross herself devoutly, and the eyes of the others glistened with tears.[2] And away at the mining settlement of Charters Towers, two thousand miles beyond Sydney, Mr. Davitt, on entering a convent, was charmed to hear the pupils sing "The Wearing of the Green" and "Come back to Erin."[3] Taught by Irish nuns, these children thus learned to love the land of their fathers, though they had never seen and probably never would see its shores.

In other lands also Irishmen have found a home, in South Africa, and in the Argentine Republic, and nearer home the number of Irish is large in the cities and towns of Great Britain. In the present generation an Irish Protestant has been Lord Chancellor of England and an Irish Catholic Lord Chief-Justice, and Irishmen have been and are among the brightest ornaments of the English Bar. An Irish Commander-in-Chief has been succeeded by another Irishman, neither of them, unlike Wellington, ashamed of his Irish blood; and in the navy and diplomatic service, and in the higher posts of the Civil Service, Irishmen have served England well. Throughout England and Scotland there are clergymen and doctors, Irish still to their heart's core, who are honoured by the town or city in which they live; and not unfrequently it has happened that the poor Irish working-man who settled in England has prospered, perhaps reached a prominent position in his adopted town. But there is the other side to the picture too. How many Irishmen coming to Great Britain poor remain poor all their days! how many go down in the struggle! how many become waifs and wastrels in the cities and towns! how many lose the faith which their ancestors held so dear! how many have to endure hardships and privations worse even than misery and a mud-cabin at home! And every patriotic Irishman would wish to end that annual exodus to the harvest fields of England. Treated on train and steamer like so many cattle, these migratory labourers have often to live in England in cattle-sheds and barns. Tolerated rather than encouraged, they are looked down upon as belonging to an alien race and creed; and as they are met with at an English railway station, toil-worn, travel-stained, and poor, they are pathetic figures with the wistful look of the Irish exile in their eyes. But it is the United States above all which is draining Ireland of its life-blood. Those who go to Australia or South Africa, to Canada or the Argentine Republic, are but few; and of those who go to Great Britain the greater number go but to return. But to the United States there is a steady and continuous stream of more than 30,000 a year. It is this terrible drain, which nothing seems able to stem, which is responsible for the continued diminution of the population, so that Ireland, which in 1861 had nearly six millions of people, has now less than four millions and a half.[1] Worse than all, more than three-fourths of those who go are between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five. It is the strong and healthy and enterprising who go, the persons with initiative and ambition, leaving behind them the weak of body and mind. Of those who reach America healthy and strong some indeed succeed, but others go down in the struggle, wasted by exhausting labour, by keen competition, by difficult climatic conditions. A small portion, especially the girls, come back to Ireland, but how woefully changed! Still young, the elasticity has left their step, the light has gone from their eye, the roses have faded from their cheeks; and the beautiful girl who left Ireland but a few years before has returned prematurely old, perhaps to die, or it may be to get married at home and become the mother of unhealthy children. And thus the exodus to America is responsible not merely for the diminution, but also for the deterioration of the race. How to induce the people to remain at home is a question which demands the most serious thought of our public men; for it is evident that if the present exodus continues unchecked, the Irish race in Ireland is doomed.

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[1] *Catholic Directories.*

[2] Hogan, pp. 147-8.

[3] Davitt, p. 126.

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[1] *Catholic Directories.*

NOTE TO INDEX

The roman figures in the Index refer to the *complete* volumes, thus:

i = Half-volumes 1, 2.
ii = Do. 3, 4.
iii = Do. 5, 6.

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